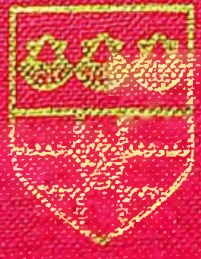

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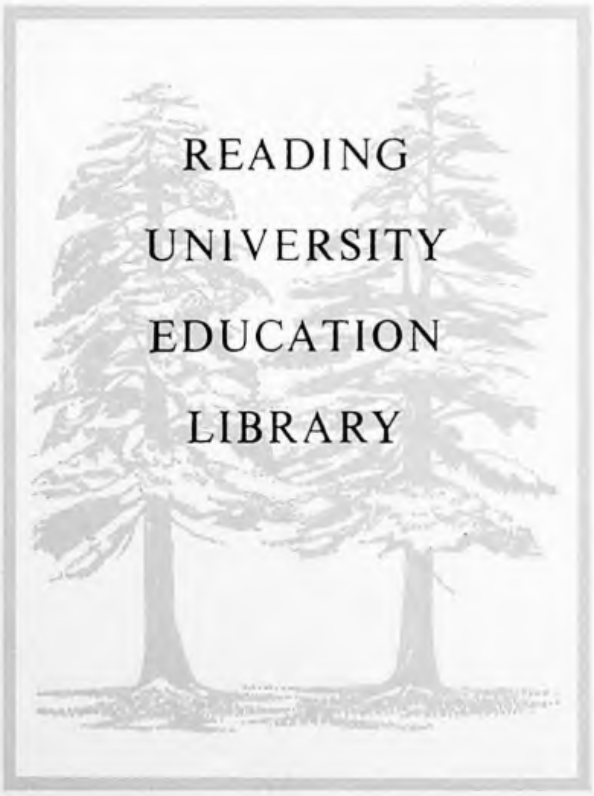
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THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

BY

GEORGE FREDERICK KNELLER

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To

THE REVEREND AND MRS. GEORGE LAKIN FITZGERALD

with Gratitude

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CHAPTER I

THE SITUATION

NATIONAL SOCIALISM, a highly specialized form of Fascism, is the controlling mode of civilization in Germany today. Entering now upon its ninth year, it has become a spiritual, political, and historical reality of the greatest import, not only for Germany but for the rest of the world, since it carries with it a set of teachings which make the interest of the nation the ultimate standard of its own conduct, affirm primordial rights of expansion under a reconceived policy of pan-Germanism, and constitute an almost complete negation of the doctrines of Western liberalism.

Added to this, National Socialism is in itself a gigantic educational enterprise. The very air of Germany is saturated with the word *Schulung* ("schooling") and its derivatives, all representing a deliberate effort to dominate and mold the minds of growing youth in accordance with a set pattern. As an educative movement, National Socialism is intensely anxious, almost frantically so, to root its principles in the hearts and minds of the German people in a manner to insure their permanent popularity and acceptance.

Developing from these conditions, the present work becomes an attempt to answer such questions as the following:

1. What is the educational philosophy of National Socialism in function today?
2. Why and how is it adapted to contemporary German civilization?
3. What are its backgrounds?

The excuse for this investigation and the explanation of its peculiar nature are the existence in English of a deplorably small amount of dispassionate, objective literature on the subject. While it is granted that democratic countries may well adopt antagonistic attitudes toward National Socialist education, it is difficult to understand why the system has not been studied more comprehensively and at closer range. Instead, commentators have been content to use secondary source materials

such as local and foreign newspapers, personal testimonials, or the scant literature already available. The result has been hardly more than the constant reworking of a point of view previously expressed.

This investigation is intended to fill a gap in liberalistic, objective literature on National Socialist educational philosophy that should have been filled years ago. It is an attempt to present the situation as it is, seen in its own light and from its own point of view. And on this score there must be immediate understanding. National Socialist education is treated here impersonally as a phenomenon, a "link in the chain of educational ideas." There is no other purpose than to present the facts of the case. Personal philosophy, personal feelings, personal reactions have been put aside in favor of treating the situation as pure actuality: a phase in the development of human civilization which must be thoroughly comprehended.

Such a treatment of the subject may appear untimely when Great Britain and the United States are engaged in war with Germany. Yet the material has by that same fact become the more timely. The objectivity of the method could never have been maintained if the work had had to be done under the tension of present conditions. The investigation was begun some six years ago, with the purpose of giving English-speaking observers of National Socialism a basis of facts concerning the educational philosophy of the new and unknown Germany, leaving them free to draw their own conclusions. The author's own judgments were to be rigorously excluded, and he has had to adhere to this plan in order to preserve the validity and consistency of the study. It is his hope that this is the book's gain rather than its loss; that its criticism is best achieved through cool analysis and by exposing obvious contradiction and distortion of fact.

The first part of the inquiry is an exposition of the fundamental postulates of National Socialism, out of which its educational aims and purposes arise. Chapter IV is a critical examination of the principal backgrounds actually or professedly at the root of modern practice, while the rest of the work seeks to define present educational theory. With the partial exception of Chapter IV, documentation is almost exclusively from National Socialist sources.

This method of treatment, departing somewhat from the usual chronological presentation, is proper in view of the peculiar structure and place of education in the scheme of things. Many theories exist as to the origin of the very radical and unprecedented changes in German education. Most prevalent is the idea that force, i.e., political power, acted as the external subversive agency, the inevitable result being that education, conditioned as it is by the political structure of a nation, simply became the victim of politics.

Another theory holds that change came primarily from within educational philosophy itself; that it was an internal revolt urging the revival of old authoritarian ideas. Under this theory the educational liberalism of the republic becomes a temporary thing, a short-lived experiment that failed because it did not respond adequately to the peculiarities of German national character.

A third theory, arising directly out of the above, finds its chief support among those Germans who advocate the new order. Briefly, it asserts that Germany cannot be expected to build a social order or advocate a system of education which will fit into the more universally accepted systems, because German temperament itself is grounded in love of national exclusiveness.

But none of these theories gives the complete picture. National Socialist education is primarily neither an agency of political power nor a revival of past ideals; it is, like the entire body of National Socialist thought upon which it depends, essentially a new ideology.[1] Not only this, but it is in great measure the result of a crisis—the answer to a social dilemma. It owes its basic principles not so much to history or pedagogy as to the demands of a neo-German society, more specifically of a National Socialist society. Its theories are avowedly modern and pragmatic. They have arisen as an expression of the National Socialist will, out of the broad demands of German contemporary life. The point of departure of National Socialist educational philosophy and the thread of the present dis-

1. Walter Landé, "Basic Principles of National Socialist Education in the Third Reich," *Education for Dynamic Citizenship*, p. 103. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, June 25, 1937. Landé was formerly a member of the Prussian Ministry of Education.

cussion can be properly understood only on the basis of this conviction.

It is not difficult to find documentation for these conclusions. Dr. Rudolf Benze, director of the German Central Institute for Education, writes, "National Socialist education has not grown primarily out of pedagogical theory, as former systems of education may have . . . but out of the political activity of the movement," and consequently "out of a living racial concept of the German people inherent in the movement." The influence of historical educational philosophy and even of postwar pedagogical theory is secondary to this contemporary political influence. In other words, the starting point according to Benze is not a matter of history, but lies in present-day practical demands exemplified in the aims and teachings of the party.[2]

The same point of view is shared by Theodor Wilhelm, literary editor of *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung* ("International Education Review"). In his excoriation of Professor Charles A. Beard's article on "Education under the Nazis," Dr. Wilhelm reminds his readers that the National Socialist revolution was a "real one" in that "it produced entirely new ideas without recourse to history."[3] In like manner Professor Ernst Forsthoff calls National Socialism an "original creation—without prototype";[4] while the Leader himself proclaimed before the Reichstag, January 30, 1934: "We are beginning a new era—. The past will never return."[5]

In addition to the personal views of these men, the very demands of the Party Program, conceived with great disregard for precedent, together with their determined fulfillment, are but further evidence on this point.

National Socialism follows an era of liberalism. It not only follows, but sharply denies it. The present ideology of the Third Reich must be understood as a strong, conscious, and almost total antithesis to the ideals of liberalism. Its impulse is generated from the conviction that the individualistic preferences of the era of liberalism in European history have been

2. Personal letter to the author, December 15, 1938. See Appendix.

3. Beard's article appears in *Foreign Affairs*, New York, April, 1936. Wilhelm's criticism is in *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung* (1937), VI, 62.

4. Ernst Forsthoff, *Der totale Staat* (Hamburg, 1934), p. 10.

5. All Hitler's speeches are procurable from Müller und Sohn, Berlin.

leading to a decline of civilization and society, much as they did in the days of the Roman Empire. National Socialism not only passively opposes this tendency; it is actively antagonistic toward it.[6]

But National Socialism does not enjoy a unique position in this regard. It was not the first to oppose traditional liberalistic ideology. All collectivistic movements, at least in the last two centuries, have been antiliberal. Socialism in many of its specialized forms is founded on a denial of individual preference and the principle of *laissez faire*. But National Socialism is unique in having its own peculiar brand of socialism, quite in contrast, for example, to Marxian socialism. Marxian socialism, as we have pointed out in the section on "Individual Freedom," is in the judgment of Spann, Rosenberg, and Krieck nothing but the "legitimate child" of liberalism. The socialism of National Socialism on the other hand, stated very broadly, puts society, the community, above the individual. But there is much more to it than this.

The term "National Socialism," as party authors define it, produces interpretations of nationalism and socialism vastly different from those of more common acceptance. "National" is born not of "artificially constructed geographical limitations" or "arbitrary judicial acts," but of the term "*völkisch*" ("of the folk," "ethnic"), representing the awareness of man's "ethnic" place in life, and the recognition of his national birthright solely from racial qualifications. In its active effect, it is the inspiration by which any individual is to render personal service to the nation as a natural racial community, and through this closed type of community to the still wider community of mankind. The destiny of the nation determines the destiny of the individual living in it and partaking of it. Conversely, national destiny is dependent upon individual sacrifice and contribution. The "true and eternal" interests of the nation and of its constituents are, therefore, identical.

Socialism as comprehended in Germany today is the principle by which the masses are governed both in their mutual relationships and in their unified common service. Ethically and practically, socialism is construed to be interlocked with nationalism, so that National Socialism becomes the "natural" organi-

6. Landé, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

zation of the national community; it both includes and determines the whole of human activity inside the frame of the nation.[7]

Externally, the National Socialist vision of an international order is one of vertically organized units, together forming a socialism of nations. Just as national organization is an organic coherence of consanguineous, congenial, and equal individuals (with specialized interpretations of equality), the family of nations is also to be regarded as a corporate unity inside which each individual unit represents and contributes its own particular achievements.[8]

Training for *Volk* (folk) membership is not based on the idea that Germany is today a dictatorship. The evidence in the ensuing pages is sufficient to show that mutual reaction of all social agencies in the country, under the leadership of the state, is more accurately the idea of *totalitarianism:* not with the state as the absolute regulator of life, nor with a dictator superimposing private ideals, but with Volk welfare in accordance with the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*, or "point of view toward life," as the determining, regulating, and controlling factor.

The success of National Socialism is due more to this policy of totalitarianism, this all-inclusiveness, with the salvation of the German race as the guiding principle, than to the ruthless-

7. The author is aware of the unsaid implications of this general definition. To Hitler, Goebbels, and Rosenberg nationalism determines and shapes socialism. With Fried they would agree that neither men nor nations are equal. Cf. Alfred Rosenberg, *Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1930), p. 536, "A policy of socialism can be executed only by those who consider the *Volk* to be a natural organism." The nation as a whole is "the standard indicating the necessary restrictions of individual and group interests." "Germany owes this well-founded synthesis [of nationalism with socialism] to Hitler." A good definition of National Socialism which contrasts the two terms is given a little later on p. 556): "Nationalism . . . is the conditioning as well as the aim of our actions," whereas "Socialism is the safeguarding of the individuals by the state which acknowledges their personal honor and protects their racial strength." Cf. also Otto Koellreutter, *Vom Sinn und Wesen der Nationalen Revolution* (Tübingen, 1933), p. 34, who quotes Sorel and Freund to the effect that German socialism today is dependent on, and conditional to, a specific Volk and nation, there being no such thing possible as a "world socialism."

8. There is, however, the additional view, prevalent among adherents to the Rosenberg school, that a pan-Europe can exist only under the leadership of the Nordic states. See Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 641. On p. 142 Rosenberg urges a unification of Aryans of all lands for the salvation of the world.

ness with which its principles have been imposed upon the people, although it is quite true that the one would hardly have been possible without the other. There has also been a distinct attempt to satisfy as many classes of people as possible rather than to coördinate them forcibly under a given set of ideals. The Party Program reveals candid appeals to all branches of German civilization. For example, the Prussian spirit, so characteristic of National Socialism, appeals to conservatives; the élite principle tends to please army officers; the adoption of a "positive Christianity" avoids a complete alienation of religious groups, while planned economy means comparative security for the agrarian and industrial worker alike. But perhaps the greatest appeal of all has been to adventurers and visionaries, to youth and youthful aspirations, however temporary such an appeal must be.

It is not very easy to draw distinct lines between theory and practice in the German education of today, especially in view of its obligation to a social system based on revolutionary concepts and opportunism. But the author has had sufficient contact with the actual workings of German schools to know that the more sensational National Socialist ideology is not so fully practiced in the classroom as many reporters would have us think. Personal experiences can hardly be offered as proof in an investigation of this kind, but it seems evident that in Germany, as elsewhere, practice lags a good many years behind theory. The older schoolmasters, brought up and educated previous to National Socialism and along the lines of liberalism, show an ingrained reluctance, even inability, to respond readily to current theories, while many parents are strongly insistent on the more traditional forms of education. What is more, the same complaints are heard in Germany as abroad concerning lack of new textbooks, laboratories, space, equipment, and general facilities to cope with new demands. Germany, indeed, has her hands full to provide and maintain adequate housing of her school youth and take care of her educational program in its normal development, without spending excessive time and money on new ideas and practices.

It is a platitude that schools are always among the slowest institutions to respond to social change. Any conclusion that the

present German system represents a complete and immediate capitulation to the demands of National Socialism only betrays an unfortunate misconception. It is much more accurate to say that this is the trend, the "general direction" as Hitler is wont to assert, which in the next generation will become the practice. And it is true also that as the older teachers and the older parents die off, the tenets of National Socialism are likely to find increasing acceptance with the younger element.

On the other hand, there is no denying that education is responding, however slowly, to official demands; and even more than this, is itself acting to mold the desired social order. The Reform of 1938 is the first outstanding manifestation of desire, in the field of education, to train for the National Socialist attitude. Here is a functioning philosophy of education, based on determining factors already expressed in 1933 and earlier—a philosophy which obediently reflects the very wording of the Party Program. But it took five years for the Reform to be completed, and it is safe to say that it will take at least another five to see it operative to any appreciable degree.

Broadly speaking, we are dealing with a *determinative* philosophy, a body of thought destined to guide the educational practice of German schools as long as National Socialism remains the controlling social force. As far as possible, a distinction has been made between the more contemplative theory of idealists and what may be called a functioning philosophy, which now governs educational procedure. The early years of National Socialism produced, as might be expected, a great deal of irresponsible propaganda literature, expressing more the confusion of the times than any real effort to discern a course for education. Although bombast and emotionalism have a definite place in the system, since they are so characteristic of it, the effort here has been to relegate these elements to their proper place in relation to thought of a more deliberate and conservative type.

The thought content of National Socialist educational theory has, indeed, settled down considerably in the last few years, its authors taking into account the natural inertia of the masses. Revolutionary tactics are giving way to those of a more evolutionary type, National Socialism being interpreted not only as a completely new idea but as the reawakening of what has al-

ways been characteristically German. The appeal, in other words, is shifting more and more to history and historical precedent as a defense of present motives. The purpose of this investigation is, in part, to show how far this appeal is valid. But regardless of historical precedent, the educational philosophy of National Socialism remains at once essentially pragmatic, idealistic, and naturalistic; dynamic in expression, yet self-admittedly immature and untried. Spun directly from the tenets of a political party, it is influenced inevitably, as is all current German thought, by the philosophical trends closest to the heart of the movement.

Finally, National Socialism with its implications for education is, for those who can overlook its brutalities, one of the most dramatic and colorful ideologies the world has ever produced. Rivaling the liveliest fiction, picturesque with a décor reminiscent of ancient empires, although styled for a glorious Germany to come, it transports the susceptible observer into a realm of idealism, into a world of thought governed now by ancient Greece, now by the gods of Valhalla and the heroes of Tacitus' *Germania*, now by the Prussia of Frederick the Great. Reinterpreting history and civilization, careless of universally accepted and cherished ideals, strongly prophetic in tone, it becomes a challenge to the very fundamentals of human progress as conceived by Western liberalism.

And the challenge of present-day Germany, however mighty the machine that rolls over Europe, is not in its deepest reaches a military one. It is a challenge of beliefs, into which the energies of a sturdy people have gone and the vitality of a whole generation is being poured, not only in Germany, but in a constantly increasing number of formerly "free" countries. Conflicts of mind and will and spirit cannot find their answer altogether on the battlefield. The challenge cannot be met by ignoring it or by attacking it blindly. It is upon the thoroughness with which we seek to interpret and understand it, however lofty and tortuous its language, that some means of dealing with its vital elements ultimately depends.

CHAPTER II

THE VIRUS OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

1. *Weltanschauung*

It is imperative to speak no more of the totalitarian state but of the integrity or totality of the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*.

ALFRED ROSENBERG (1936).

THE revolt of National Socialism against inherited concepts is supported by a private yet portentous *Weltanschauung* (literally "world outlook"), an idealistic but also expedient philosophy of life. It is an elusive term, for interpretations such as "philosophy of life," "attitude toward things," or "standard of values" hardly convey the subtler meaning; its implications are to be taken on a spiritual rather than a factual basis. In other words, what the term conveys is not a definition of reality; it is more nearly a feeling. One does not know what it is so well as what it stands for; one can only really know the attitudes it represents. "It is a portrait of the world and man," says one authority, "even though it receives its justification in faith."[1] But Weltanschauung is for all practical purposes an expression of faith, in many ways a religion, which in its broader sense includes an evaluation of man and his natural and proper position in the world.

The distinctive character of National Socialist Weltanschauung (for democracy, communism, and other systems are allowed their own versions of a world outlook) lies in a system of values and concepts of the goal of life determined by what are conceived to be the natural instincts and qualities of the German people (Volk). This point of view is not a personal philosophy, either preconceived or actually experienced by an individual; it covers rather the individual's relationship to the source and meaning of things, this larger element being in turn not something individually conceived or enjoyed, but in its very nature shared by all the people. What originates within one kind (of

1. Ernst Krieck, *Nationalpolitische Erziehung* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 96.

people or race) is to be shared by that kind. "Weltanschauung is always 'folk' Weltanschauung," says a leading authority.[2] It is not only present in the imagination and activity of the individual German, but above all manifests itself in the habits and institutions of the entire Volk.

It is an open question whether the program of National Socialism is a cause or result of its Weltanschauung. Theory as a rule determines a program, but a program may also determine theory. The difficulty in establishing the true relationship in this case arises from the fact that neither theory nor program is inherently permanent, or meant to be so, the defense for such precariousness being that National Socialism is still in its infancy and room must be left for experiment and revision. If there is anything permanent about its philosophic outlook, it is just this flexibility of attitude and policy. Although National Socialism is noted for its systematized administrative practice, there is remarkably little system in its Weltanschauung. The Party Program of twenty-five points is the clear-cut exposition of an ideology, yet it depends upon a Weltanschauung which may shift with the strategical need of the moment. The point is not so much that philosophy or program should be supreme as that national welfare shall in any situation be the rule of conduct.[3] It is precisely this irrationalism, or subjectivism, which constitutes the enduring quality of the National Socialist attitude.

Although Weltanschauung is admittedly not an exclusive possession of National Socialism, its present interpretation and implications are highly particular to the movement. Here the word really belies itself, for the attitudes involved do not form essentially a "world outlook" but a "national outlook," the primary consideration being the progress of civilization within a closed social group, responsible to itself alone. This does not imply coöperation with other nations for universal progress, but sets up a standard of values which grants Germany the privilege of asserting her "rightful position" in the world regardless of other standards. It must be left for later documentation to show that, according to the National Socialist attitude,

2. Alfred Bäumler, *Politik und Erziehung* (Berlin, 1937), p. 101.

3. Cf. Adolf Hitler, Speech, Stuttgart, July 30, 1933: "The new Reich is not dedicated to theories but exclusively to national welfare."

ultimate reality in life cannot be determined by international standards, world culture, or any other equalizing or leveling process. The charter of National Socialism is written with the welfare of Germans in mind. Universal welfare, though outwardly an ideal in National Socialist Weltanschauung, is a matter of secondary consideration, whereby nations of the world, like individuals in a community, will be responding to life's realities only when they allow a system of leadership and selection to govern their existence.

Interesting and full of portent for humanity as is this entire point of view, only those elements can be treated here which pertain to the training of Germans for Volk membership. The state is the guardian of its Weltanschauung; education is its propagator. The modern school must build, form, and shape its human material in accordance with this attitude. Weltanschauung becomes, therefore, the universal subject of education, and the state as "patron of education" is responsible for its content.[4] The teacher, too, is no longer merely a civil servant. "His heart must be with the state and its Weltanschauung; . . . he must belong to the Third Reich."[5]

2. Volk *and Race*

Now the starting point of National Socialist teaching is not the state but the people [Volk].

ADOLF HITLER (1935).

The life of race has no logically evolving philosophy, nor yet is it a naturally developing process; it is the evolution of a mystical synthesis.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, *Mythus.*

PROFESSOR BÄUMLER's dictum, "Weltanschauung is always 'folk' Weltanschauung," is indeed the central tenet of the National Socialist attitude. The whole of National Socialist Weltanschauung centers around the idea of race, the concept being that race itself has soul, mentality, and those qualities which make for national progress and development.[6] The characteristics of race, more especially of the Nordic race, are those de-

4. Bäumler, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 104. Cf. also Reichsminister of Education, Bernhard Rust, in *Völkischer Beobachter,* February 13, 1938: "National Socialist Weltanschauung organically permeates the entire teaching."

6. Krieck, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–91.

sired by the National Socialists, so that all state theory and government action are aimed to guarantee the racial qualities and ideals "intrinsic in every real German." If National Socialism has produced anything really new in German civilization it is this idea of racial integrity and race reverence, even religion, which influences state theory and determines action.

Arguments on the biological and anthropological validity of National Socialist race theory are to be found in abundance. Its consequences are far-reaching and involve great social issues together with ultramodern social legislation. In fact, much of contemporary German civilization has been shot through with the ideal of perfecting the "Nordic man," the "Nordic race," education becoming the chief agent for organizing and disseminating these ideas. But it is not our task to resolve the logic of National Socialist race theory.[7] It is sufficient that it exists; it is there, and must be dealt with. Walter Gross, head of the Reich Racial Welfare Bureau, proclaims the German race to be a "divine inspiration" as "every race is," and affirms that it is the duty of civilization to keep the inspiration pure and prevent the slightest adulteration of that purity.[8] Again in a speech in Nürnberg, Gross asserts the central duty of National Socialism to be the preservation of the blood of the Volk as the most precious possession of the German people, "for, once lost, it can never be regained."[9]

In National Socialist thought, the Volk is dynamic, unchanging, and alive. The Volk idea is not seen in perspective, from an external point of view. It *is* the point of view, and its moving spirit arises from the realization that since a people has life, it must obey the eternal laws of nature and life.[10]

Pointing to the innumerably divergent types of human beings on this earth, National Socialist ideology proceeds from the premise that there are great differences among races. Each

7. A good example of the National Socialist point of view on race is L. G. Tirala's *Rasse, Geist und Seele,* Munich, 1935. See also works by Eugen Fischer published by Junker und Dünnhaupt, Berlin, e.g., *Der völkische Staat, biologisch gesehen,* 1933. Fischer was formerly rector of the University of Berlin and director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology and Eugenics.

8. Walter Gross, "National Socialist Racial Thought," *Germany Speaks,* p. 78. See also his *Der Rassengedanke im neuen Geschichtsbild,* pp. 24–25.

9. Quoted from Walther Gehl, *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat* (Breslau, 1933), p. 14.

10. Wilhelm and Gräfe, *German Education Today* (Berlin, 1937), p. 5.

race finds its natural tendency and ideals best exemplified by those belonging to it. Every individual best visualizes his ideals through a racial exterior or mentality, of which he is a part. The aim of race theory is to maintain a unified racial entity. "Mixing the breed" produces abnormal and unnatural results, dangerous to communal life. "Half-breeds are not a harmonious entity," the National Socialists would say. Defining race Dr. Tirala, director of the Institute of Racial Hygiene at the University of Munich, calls it "a group of living beings resembling each other in *all* their qualities, which, through hybridization, can be altered by natural law."[11] The highest type of personality arises, therefore, out of a "pure racial ancestry," for "personality is the blossom on the tree of family inheritance."[12]

In this connection it is appropriate to introduce Dr. Ernst Krieck, perhaps the most famous expositor of National Socialist educational theory, and the source of much of the documentation in the ensuing pages. Professor Krieck's rise to fame was rather phenomenal, the more so because he was not a university man. Beginning his career as an elementary-school teacher, he was hardly noticed until his theories of political pedagogy, based on a deep-rooted knowledge of German philosophy and a bent toward Hegelianism, found acceptance among the more ardent German nationalists. The National Socialist emphasis on folk values accorded with his general concepts, and his writings show little change under National Socialism except for added stress given to the Volk idea. He was awarded an honorary doctor's degree, and in due time became rector of Heidelberg University. Recently he has suffered a slight reversal in official favor, apparently more because of his temperament than as the result of any change in attitude. The present writing finds him a professor of philosophy at Heidelberg.

In a startling essay, "Folk Education from Blood and Soil," Krieck gives us a general explanation of the race theory as pertaining to education.[13] Blood and soil, he claims, are the fundamental forces of all national life and consequently the symbols

11. Tirala, *op. cit.*, p. 12. 12. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

13. Ernst Krieck, "Völkische Erziehung aus Blut und Boden," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung*, III, 305–309. An English translation follows; it is a valiant but often misleading attempt to interpret Krieck's self-coined phraseology.

of National Socialist attitude in all its phases. In defining the term "blood," Krieck says that we cannot be content with the teachings of science. "A shadowy stream of life," this blood has had a "symbolic significance" which "leads us into the realms of metaphysics." As a builder of the body it becomes the "source of the spirit of the race." Ancestral inheritance, the character and destiny of man, are all contained in blood. "Blood is to man the hidden element [*das Dunkle*], the symbolic foundation [*das Untergrundige*], the representation of the current of life, from which man can ascend to regions of light, spirit and knowledge."[14]

The life of the individual and the race is rooted in the soil, for here is where life passes and is fulfilled. All life springs from mother earth and "remains bound to her by its roots"; from her "it receives its nourishment and strength." When life's course is run and destiny fulfilled, mother earth reclaims all living beings and they "return in death to her maternal lap." Mother earth, the soil, is therefore the "source of life, the seat of the spirit, the source of everything that has a soul."[15]

Both blood and soil, according to Krieck, have the common task of shaping our destiny, molding our character, and providing a basis for the union of all individuals of humanity, each in his proper place, in "the great community under one law which is that of race and national character." Summing up, Krieck concludes: "The soil links man to the universe; and the blood in his veins gives him his place in the course of the ages and in the succession of generations . . . in the great and varied course that life runs between birth and death."[16]

The values of blood and soil are given a similar, somewhat more practical significance by Hitler. In a statement before the Reichstag, January 1, 1937, the principle of race is treated as follows: "Perhaps for the first time in the history of man, a nation has realized that of all the tasks laid upon our shoulders the most sacred and most inspiring is the preservation of the pure blood given to us by God." But this is only the reflection of more specific theories such as those found in *Mein Kampf*, where a healthy stock is made the rule of life:

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 305–306.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 306–307.
16. *Ibid.*

The folk-state must make race the centre of the common life. It has to preserve the purity of the race. The child must be declared the most precious good of the nation. The state must see to it that only those who are healthy produce children. . . . On the other hand, the refusal to provide healthy children for the nation must be considered wicked and a crime.[17]

Further conceptions of race are expressed in such terms as *Volkheit* and *Volkstum*, "folk essence" (literally "folkhood") and "folkdom," which make fundamental demands on the national life of all men. First and negatively, the "genuine" conception of such a unified entity of race and people must reject the aims of imperialism, conquest, and territorial expansion. Respect for one's own folkdom, says Philipp Hördt, leads necessarily to respect for a foreign one, and teaches that it cannot be extended by force or bloody conquest. But since the "belonging to" a certain race and people is a matter of essentially spiritual significance, it may be extended by spiritual means. An expansion of the state without accompanying expansion of Volkstum can lead only to the weakening of state-power, since the state, set up on the principles of folk-unity, is intended to rule the people that created it, and not one of foreign spirit.[18]

We are not disposed to enter into argument concerning the extent to which recent practice corresponds to this theory, but certain considerations may be pertinent. Germany would condone her policy of expansion on the ground that she was regaining what has always been rightfully hers. What Philipp Hördt really means, and his opinion is much revered in official circles, is that other racial communities are deserving of respect and proper treatment, provided the German Volk is granted those special rights and duties which are its own. In other

17. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (2 vol. ed., Eher Verlag, Munich, 1933), p. 446.

18. Philipp Hördt, *Der Durchbruch der Volkheit und die Schule* (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 31–32. However, Hördt has opposition to this idea of national exclusiveness, especially from Haushofer, Fried, Benn, and Freyer in our own day. Support for Hördt may be found in Eduard Spranger, *Volk, Staat, Erziehung: "Über Erziehung zum deutschen Volksbewusstsein"* (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 57 ff. This is an excellent chapter on the "middle way" of "respectable and respected nationalism." Grunsky is also a partial supporter. This keen National Socialist philosopher quotes Kierkegaard (*Entweder-Oder* [Jena, 1922], II, 111) as saying "possession is greater than conquest" since the conqueror never is entirely sure of what is his own. (*Seele und Staat* [Berlin, 1935], p. 54.)

words, the judgment and interpretation of foreign Volk values must be formulated in accordance with the special demands of the German Volk. Hördt does not elaborate on the extension of Volkstum "by spiritual means" in this connection, but it is fairly obvious that he believes in the arts of persuasion as giving better results than "force and bloody conquest," a view which has not been without practical effect in recent policy.

Philipp Hördt's views sound conservative when compared with those of Dr. Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda. Although the latter claims (March, 1934) that real freedom is to be discovered only through whole "peoples," since "these are the only material and historical realities through which the life of the individual is lived," he further maintains: "As we, the National Socialists, are convinced that we are right, we cannot tolerate any other in our neighborhood who claims also to be right."

That these theories have elements of contradiction is only too apparent. On one hand, nations or peoples are envisaged as sovereign beings, individual in make-up, distinct universes—even personalities—in themselves, each with the right to assert its claim to "suitable existence." On the other, the claim of Germany to be a master nation must not be disputed, and weaker race-groups must fit into the National Socialist view of a socialism of nations on the principle of "vertically organized units," previously mentioned. A teacher may well be perplexed if a bright pupil hazards questions as to what would happen if the "rightful claim" of another nation were placed upon the goods and possessions demanded by the "rightful claim" of Germany. His embarrassment will be still greater if the pupil has at any time been taught that no two bodies can occupy the same space at the same time.

As to Hördt's second principle, here again one is reminded of the spiritual qualities of race, as against political and economic values. The preservation of a Volk is essentially a spiritual process. The German people must not be educated from the point of view of haphazard political, economic, or even religious preoccupations. "A people does not endure because new children are born." It endures only when its children are made to "imbibe the eternal spiritual content" of the race.[19]

This brings Hördt to his third point, namely, that education

19. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

must concern itself with the preservation of folkdom, by imparting this same "spiritual content" to the young. Such education becomes a "primary, elemental function" of the community of the people, and not just an "intellectualized, systematic school training." Nor is the race concept to be given a materialistic interpretation. Blood and blood inheritance are only the "raw material from which the spirit builds its corporeal form."[20]

At this point Hördt joins forces with Professor Krieck who loftily conceives education as taking place in the life which develops in the space between the "dark nether foundations" and the "bright upper-world," between night and light, between the maternal and paternal poles of the world, between spirit and mind, between the vital forces of destiny and the conscious deliberate shaping of life, between growth and history-forming action. Krieck's formula, like Hördt's, would run somewhat as follows: *National folk education implies the development of the younger generation to mature membership in the community of life, the final realization of which is embodied in Volk.* This thought carries with it the corollary that the younger generation is to be modeled to the Volk-pattern as determined by Volk requirements; and there is another, vaguer implication of "squaring its [the Volk's] inner form with the outer forms of life." Individual development, "individuality," "personality," "mankind," "humanity," and all the orders and values accruing thereunto are dependent upon this "squaring," this "conformity" or identification of inner and outer. The particularist pedagogy of Rousseau and Herbart therefore becomes an "abstract ghost of the past" and must "ultimately disappear from an age of reality." Instead of centering its attention on the personality of the individual, education must concentrate on developing the collective Volk personality. It can and must embrace all Volk traits, all characteristic strengths and potentialities, and train them for a higher and binding unity.[21]

This use of education is admittedly a standardized procedure for the whole people, without regard for sect or class. In con-

20. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

21. Ernst Krieck, *Völkischer Gesamtstaat und Nationale Erziehung* (Heidelberg, 1933), p. 34.

trast to the *Einheitsschule*, the new school becomes a *Volksschule*, not simply a "unity of school organization" but a unity that comes from the "essence and the task," a "folk school" that is the "eternal community" (Fichte).[22]

Furthermore, if folk-unity is safeguarded in spirit and intention through education, then "external formations," i.e., other social agencies, can be of the greatest variety according to all the variations of religious or professional attitude and local choice. But this variety must never become class distinction, for class distinction dissolves folk-unity, and the "educated" in having contempt for the "uneducated" will reap only hatred and opposition from "below."[23]

It is apparent, then, that all education must be guided by, and at the same time foster racial values. These values cannot be changed at will, for as Tirala says, "everything is brought into the world, not as a gift of an angel or devil, but as a gift, a disposition, coming from our ancestors."[24] The aim of education is to preserve this "gift," this "disposition," this "racial inheritance."[25]

3. *The Party and Its Program*

We are forming in people, party and military might an inviolable, indissoluble unity.

Adolf Hitler (1935).

The party must ever remain the hierarchy of National Socialist leadership.

Joseph Goebbels (1935).

The party can never be separated from leader, movement, and people.

Otto Koellreutter (1936).

The German government today is a one-party system. National Socialism is by law the only party recognized or tolerated, the creed of the party in its general connotations having

22. Hördt, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–35. Cf. Krieck, *Nationalpolitische Erziehung*, p. 113: "The goal to which culture, education, and the school must work is . . . Volk," for it is the "collective duty" of all people to mold its "comprehensive form" and coördinate its "unified history-forming forces."

23. Hördt, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36. 24. Tirala, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

25. "Education in the racial state attains its crowning perfection . . . in firing young hearts and minds with racial sense and racial feeling," *Mein Kampf*, p. 475. (Incidentally, Hitler does not say what "race" is.)

become the accepted version of the state idea.[26] The present government owes its origin and foundations primarily to the tenets of the political party which gave it being. Historical precedent, where it exists, is more a symptom than a determinant.

It is hard for foreigners to grasp the real significance to the average German of the National Socialist revolution, so-called.[27] The present system in Germany is not based altogether on the social philosophy of a political party. It is true that the Party Program acts as a sort of constitution upon which a new political order has been established, but in the light of what we have said on Weltanschauung, National Socialist ideology is much more of an attitude than a political doctrine. As Landé so astutely observes, it is this attitude rather than a mere contradiction of theories which separates National Socialism from traditional philosophies.[28] National Socialism, like Italian Fascism, arose chiefly as a pragmatic, activist movement, not as an organization based on hypothetical, critical, and skeptical concepts. And like Italian Fascism, the German movement was one of ex-soldiers. It became the embodiment of the feelings, "the more or less vague reactions and desires of the younger generation of the post-war period."[29]

National Socialism, as it finds concrete expression in a party program, is largely the result of a unique mental situation in which these ex-soldiers and others found themselves, when indisposed or actually unable to cope with the ideology of the republic. A product of liberalism, based on tolerance and condi-

26. Out of the many sources available to defend the oneness of state and party, see Forsthoff, *op. cit.*, p. 36: "The unity of state and party is first and foremost spiritual-political, and signifies the binding of National Socialist *Weltanschauung* and program to the state in all realms of its existence and endeavor." Carl Schmitt has written a book on the inseparable trinity of state, movement, and Volk: *Staat, Bewegung, Volk* (Hamburg, 1933). Cf. also Joseph Goebbels: *Wesen und Gestalt des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 1935), p. 19 especially. For the party as a political instrument of the Führer, see Otto Koellreutter, *Grundfragen unserer Volks- und Staatsgestaltung* (Berlin, 1936), p. 21.

27. Cf. Adolf Hitler, Speech, January 30, 1937, on "National Socialism and World Relations," where he says: "So great was the Revolution that its intellectual foundations are not even yet understood but are superficially criticized by our contemporaries. They talk of democracies and dictatorships; but they fail to grasp the fact that in this country a radical transformation has taken place and has produced results which are democratic in the highest sense of the word, if democracy has any meaning at all." Cf. also Goebbels, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–19 principally.

28. Landé, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

tioned by reason, the Weimar government failed to embody the absolute ideals and passionate enthusiasm which alone could have carried this group with it. To continue Landé: "These youths were sick of relativities, of complexities, of reasoning, and of rational self-criticism. They wanted the *absolute*, the *simple;* they wanted *action.*"[30]

Thus one may account to some degree for the peculiarly pragmatic, activist and antiproblematic attitudes of the educational theory of National Socialism. Hence the militaristic character of its education, subservient to strategic demands; an education devoted to activity, stern will, and an all-embracing faith. Hence, also, the genuine desire so prevalent nowadays to escape from life's complexities, from intellectual doubt, procrastination, forced inactivity, and the general "sophistication" and "disintegration" of modern social life.

In the eyes of National Socialists, a nation may display a united front in international affairs yet not be fundamentally strong, either internally or externally, unless all its people are inseparably united in race, creed, purpose, and action. The fulfillment of this aim is the boast of the new Reich which, coming into existence through a "bloodless revolution," merits recognition as an entirely new form of the state, a "Third Reich."[31] In contrast to the First Reich which was predominantly Prussian, the Third Reich is German; in contrast to the Second Reich which was predominantly a state, the present Reich is absolutely a Volksreich.[32]

A glance back over nearly two decades of National Socialist history shows a period of relentless devotion to a cause. During this time the National Socialist party brought together, organized, and fashioned its followers with dogged perseverance,

30. *Ibid.*, p. 114. (Italics in the original.)

31. It is probably not incorrect to conclude that unity was lacking, previous to 1933, only between the Volk and a governing system, other kinds of cultural unity having existed earlier, although the consequences of this disunity are admittedly far-reaching.

32. Alfred Bäumler, "Die deutsche Gemeinschaftsschule und ihre geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen," essay in *Politik und Erziehung,* pp. 94–96. On p. 96 Bäumler says: *"Als Schule des Reiches ist sie die völkische Weltanschauungsschule unter dem Schutze des Staates."* On p. 95 he says: "The Third Reich is neither a prolongation of the Second nor the continuation of the First Reich. . . . It is a creation out of the substance of the German people in connection with German history. It combines revolution and tradition."

amid world ridicule and disheartening setbacks. Its beginnings were most humble. In 1919 there were only seven members with Hitler at their head. It grew slowly, enlisting for the most part ex-service men, until 1923 when the Hitlerites joined forces with General Ludendorff and his followers. As the result of an attempted *coup d'état* in Munich Hitler was arrested and jailed, and it was in that year, 1924, while still in prison, that he set down his memoirs and beliefs under the title of "*Mein Kampf.*" The movement was very much in the background after the inflation and during the comparative prosperity from 1924 to 1928, when foreign credits stimulated German trade. But world economic depression beginning in 1929, together with alarming internal tendencies, once more fired enthusiasm for Hitler's cause, and in the election of 1930 the National Socialists polled over six million votes. By July, 1932, more than a third of the German Reichstag was composed of National Socialists, and in six months President von Hindenburg, faced by the inability of either Papen or Schleicher to form a cabinet, was forced to hand Hitler the chancellorship.[33]

National Socialists point with great pride to the "bloodlessness" of their revolution, attributing it to the wholehearted acceptance of their program on the part of an overwhelming majority of Germans. Strategy aside, however, and putting the matter in the simplest terms, the reason for the success of the

33. Mildred S. Wertheimer, *Germany under Hitler,* pp. 6–16, World Affairs Pamphlet No. 8, Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1935. Switzer McCrary, *The National Socialist State,* "Arnold Foundation Studies in Public Affairs" (Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, 1935), IV, 1–2. Walther Gehl, ed., *op. cit., Partei und Staat,* pp. 32–33 especially. President von Hindenburg, *Reden,* February 1, 1933, and March 21, 1933, Müller und Sohn, Berlin, 1933. Adolf Hitler, *Reden* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 6–7, 13. François de Tessan, *Voici Adolf Hitler* (Paris, 1933), chap. ii, "Du Fédéralisme à l'Unitarisme."

Actually National Socialism came to power by means of coalition votes. See Wertheimer, *supra,* pp. 16 ff. In a letter to the *New York Times,* dated September 19, 1939, Wilhelm Sollmann, Secretary of the Interior in the Stresemann cabinets, calls the Hitler government illegal, and says that the "historical truth" of the matter is that it is based on an evasion of Article 48 of the Weimar constitution, since the Reichstag was not given a fair opportunity to vote on the dictatorial powers Hitler requested. Hitler's two-thirds majority, necessary for dictatorship, was obtained, says Sollmann, by depriving the Communists of their legally gained seats and by imprisoning dozens of Social Democrat delegates, an action which in itself was a violation of Article 57 guaranteeing protection of personal freedom.

party was the same as that of any success in a democracy: it appealed to popular love of revivalism, promised alleviation of immediate ills, assumed the restoration of pristine values, and gave faith in the future. There were other reasons for its success, such as existing mass neurosis, dissatisfaction with the multiparty system, foreign suppression of internal and external economic development, individual exploitation of the social bounty, opposition to communism, dislike of the "ineffectiveness" of the Weimar Republic, the disturbing pressure of youth and the Youth Movement; and to a very large extent the fact that radicalism best thrives in times of distress.[34]

The original program of the National Socialist party, announced as early as 1920, consists of twenty-five points. Succinctly stated, they cover every phase of the German civilization they hope to mold. After demanding a union of all German communities into one Great Germany on the basis of self-determination of peoples, the articles go on to define the German citizen as being "only he who is of German blood." The right to determine the administration of the nation belongs to the people, the state binding itself to provide for their livelihood and employment. The activities of all individuals must accrue to the common good; all those doing injury to the general welfare will be dealt with ruthlessly. Educational policy is outlined in Article 20, which is best quoted in full:

In order that every capable and hard-working German may have the opportunity of securing a higher education and, consequently, of attaining a leading position, the state must take care to provide a thorough expansion of our entire educational system. The teaching programs of all educational institutions must be consistent with the demands of a practical life. A conception of the theory of the state must be taught to the child as soon as it shows signs of understanding. We demand the education, at the expense of the state, of exceptionally gifted children of poor parents without regard to their social position or occupation.

34. Frederick Schumann, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, theorizes on the psychological reasons for National Socialist success. He states, p. 98: "All collective human action is by definition emotionally motivated." And, a little later, a point that comes dangerously close to agreement with National Socialist theory: "All human societies are held together by shared emotions, by common glandular and muscular responses to collective symbols, not by cold abstract intellect."

As a corollary to state development of education comes the policy toward public health and physical training:

> The state shall provide for the people's health through protection of mother and child, by prohibition of child labor, by legally fostering gymnastics and sports as means of furthering physical development, and by giving the fullest support to all organizations concerned with the physical training of youth.

The articles continue with very definite demands for the press that only Germans shall print newspapers, and only in the German language:

> Newspapers working against the common good are to be forbidden. We demand legal action against that tendency in art and literature which exercises a disintegrating influence on our national life, and the closing of institutions which act contrary to this requirement.

Freedom is demanded for all religious denominations not interfering with or endangering the existence of the state, or offending "the sense of morality and decency of the German race." This includes a "positive Christianity" to combat the "Jewish-materialistic spirit" that had been prevalent. In the concluding paragraph, the leaders of the party promise to do all in their power to carry out the provisions of the program, even to sacrificing their lives.[35]

That the program is strategic in character is undeniable; it is also idealistic. It has not all been realized, and some of it probably never will be. But it is not hard to understand why its principles were appealing, especially to youth. Extreme nationalism, the socialization of industry, unemployment relief, the resurgence of national pride, and above all, the man Hitler gave promise of a haven of refuge from the harsh realities of life, a "return to the ordered security of German life before the War in a Reich which would once more be powerful, and not only the equal but the superior of all other nations."[36]

Moreover, National Socialism appealed to that psychology in the younger generation which welcomes new ideas and has little

35. Gottfried Feder, *Das Programm der NSDAP und seine weltanschaulichen Gedanken* (Franz Eher, Munich, 1938), pp. 15–18.
36. Wertheimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14.

experience of those conservative values which an older generation holds sacred. Especially in Germany was youth ready to cast aside inherited doctrines as useless and old-fashioned, and accept an order full of vigor and optimism. Here was a new social system which made no halfhearted, ineffective sallies but launched a direct attack on national problems, almost regardless of consequence. This movement had meaning and purpose for them; it even acknowledged the peril of its quest. As a great adventure it called for courage and sacrifice, as a departure into the unknown and the untested it challenged the imagination, and cast the die of victory or complete national annihilation. All the external paraphernalia of propaganda, flag waving, parades, meetings, and marching in uniforms were but the seductive means to an end; that end, the salvation of Germany—socially, economically, spiritually, and politically—and the restoration of this great nation to its primary position in world society.

"The inheritance which has come to us is a terrible one," said Hitler in a proclamation to the government on assuming power. "The National government will regard it as their primary duty to revive in the nation a spirit of unity and coöperation."[37] Accepting this "terrible inheritance," the National Socialists assigned to themselves the gigantic task of rebuilding an entire nation in accordance with their principles. Once in power they ordered all opposition dissolved. By early July, 1933, the party was declared the only legal political group in the Reich. Six months later, a further decree declared the union of state and party, so that within a year's time the full political unity so earnestly desired by these latter-day critics of Bismarck became a reality.[38]

This picture of things as they stood when National Socialism came to power requires one or two modifications. In Hitler's mind, the inheritance may have been a "terrible one," but actually the republic had many notable achievements to its credit. The reparations question was well on its way to solution; the

37. Speech, February 1, 1933.

38. *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat,* pp. 24–26, contains not only a preface with historical explanation but the text of the law making National Socialism the only party in Germany. Hitler, *Reden,* February 1, 1933. (*"An die Regierung des deutschen Reiches."*) See also Speech, July 6, 1933.

Reich budget was balanced, whereas the debt is now upwards of ninety billion marks; there was constantly increasing achievement in political centralization; and there was a universal realization, not altogether the product of German protest, that the Versailles Treaty was a failure. History shows that it takes a great many years, even centuries, to establish an effective democratic form of government. France, for example, entered the nineteenth century as a united nation; her statesmen did not need to concentrate on reforming the national state. In Germany in 1919 the middle classes had on their hands a twofold task—to construct the national state and at the same time to surmount the loyalties, habits, and forms inherited from the old order. There is no desire here to excuse the weaknesses of the republic, but it is essential to remember that it had to be organized, and an effort made to root it in the hearts of German people, at a time when circumstances were playing havoc with national development.

In a memorable speech before the Reichstag Hitler presented a concrete four-year plan for economic and agrarian rehabilitation. This plan included, among other things, the rescue of the German peasant, the end of unemployment, reorganization of administration and fiscal policies, federalization of the Reich, compulsory labor service, back-to-the-land policy, performance of social duties to the sick and needy, release from reparations and impossible liabilities for debts, and the restoration of the German state to a place of honor in the world.[39]

Simultaneously with political revision, the government undertook a complete moral purging of the body corporate of the nation. As a means to this end, the entire educational system, the theater, cinema, literature, press, and radio were all used and valued accordingly. To use Hitler's own words:

They must all serve for the maintenance of the eternal values present in the essence of our nationality. Art will always remain the expression and the reflection of the longings and the realities of an era. Heroism is coming forward ardently and will in future shape and lead political destiny. It is the task of art to be the expression of this determining spirit of the age. Blood and race will once more become the source of artistic intuition. Respect for the

39. *Ibid.*, and Speech in the Reichstag, March 23, 1933.

great men of the past must once more be impressed on the youth of Germany as a sacred heritage.[40]

Now Adolf Hitler is not a scholar; he has never attended an institution of higher learning. He has, however, done considerable reading in history and economics and has listened to the wisdom of his scholar-associates. Despite an awkwardness of expression, which forces him to write as he talks, his philosophy is conclusive and adapted to the exigency of the moment. He rarely weighs the other point of view if it conflicts with his own, and is slow to act on advice from colleagues. What is there, then, about this man that has made him what Krieck calls "the incarnation of the people's will"?[41] A number of elements in his character contribute to this: the impulse to leadership, ability to organize and maintain control, a messianic speaking voice, and a mastery of the art of propaganda. Add to this those qualities which attract a following and promise it salvation, and an obsession for power regardless of human sacrifice, and there is enough, surely, to account for a phenomenal popular success. His ardent sincerity and steady sympathy for the common man are rarely doubted by the masses, who can say with all the admiration and confidence of their hearts that "he is one of us"; "we are led by our own"—"*unser Adolf*," as one so often hears. Other characteristics of the man involved in his private habits, preferences, and frustrations are but contributing factors in the relentless course of his career. There he stands, as strong and unscrupulous a devotee of German expansion as the Teutons have ever produced, the personification and focus of National Socialist hopes and aspirations.[42]

Thus, in brief, National Socialism with Adolf Hitler as its

40. *Ibid.*

41. Krieck, "Völkische Erziehung aus Blut und Boden," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1933–1934), III, 305.

42. Of all the studies on Hitler the man, only a few can be mentioned here: *Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt* by Heinrich Hoffman, Berlin; *Mein Kampf* has much that is autobiographical and that reveals Hitler's character and personality as told by himself. See especially pp. 5, 10–14, 20–21, 39–42, 55, etc. A very interesting little book from the German point of view is Philipp Bouhler's *Adolf Hitler*, Berlin, 1938. (Bouhler is head of Hitler's "personal chancellery.") See also the works of Erich Czech-Jochberg, for example, *Hitler (Eine deutsche Bewegung)*, Stalling, Oldenburg, 1930. Two outstanding anti-National Socialist biographies are Konrad Heiden's *Hitler (Das Zeitalter der Unverantwortlichkeit)*, Zürich, 1936, and Rudolf Olden's *Hitler*, New York, 1936.

champion becomes a history-forming movement. Its mission lies first in the formation of a new Volk and a new state, not as separate entities but as a unity, a "polaric whole," to use Krieck's wording, a "new unified form of common existence."[43] Along with the state, the movement affects and transforms the Volk and prevailing forms of life. But it is also creative in that it "pre-molds" all those many aspects of humanity, education, government, and life-modes and content into collective concepts and collective attitudes, and thus "pre-forms" a "folk-political whole."[44] Lastly, education is just one of those "forms" which, once a system in itself, is now bound up with all other "entities" of life into a whole, to be guided and governed by the beneficent might of the state.

43. Ernst Krieck, "Völkisch-politische Anthropologie" (Leipzig, 1936–38), I, 97.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 101. With all his ability to use words, Krieck has difficulty in finding synonyms for such words as *Form* and *Organ* (*Organisation*). He speaks about "pre-forming forms into collective forms" (*"Formen . . . in Gesamtformen . . . vorformen"*), and "state organization as an organ of public will," the public will being an organ out of which state organization is derived. (See p. 97, para. 2.) This double use of words is extremely difficult to render in English, and adds to Krieck's obscurity.

CHAPTER III

CONCEPT OF A STATE

1. The New *Volksstaat*

Now the state is not an end but a means; the end is *Volk*.

ADOLF HITLER.

Apart from a union of free men bound together by ties of friendship, the state is but a mechanical body.

ALFRED BÄUMLER.

IN the educational theory of National Socialism, and indeed throughout the entire development of national idealism in German philosophy, one point of focus is ever-present: the idea of the state. While in the educational philosophy of leading national idealists mankind exists as individuals, each taking his place in society, the dominant element of their theory is the formation of these individuals into the state. The particular powers and functions the state is entitled to enjoy vary with the theorist, but on one point there is agreement: the state is the "higher whole." Society, regulating the state or being regulated by it, however the concept may run, takes preference over individual development, if and when the choice must be made.

Yet in the time that marked beginnings in German national idealism, or even as late as 1871, Germany was hardly a state in the political sense, but rather a union of small autonomous principalities loosely bound by mutual spiritual and material interests. It was not until Bismarck took hold that these states became unified into the Germany of today. The map of Germany has changed considerably since 1871, but as a politically unified and centrally controlled nation it was born then and exists as such today.

The mere unification of small similar states into a common nation regardless of mutual interests and relationships does not, according to National Socialist theorists, necessarily result in a nation thoroughly unified in thought and action. In their view, Bismarck never really united the small states into a "political" nation, with the necessary realization of racial and historical

consanguinity. Germany was still merely a geographic expression, with economic unity achieved but failing desperately in spiritual and political spheres.[1]

When Bismarck died he left a "torso," as Bäumler terms it, a community of people living in a state which they had not created, cold to its great possibilities, strangely indifferent to its future, "and it seems that what one does not create one cannot understand or even retain."[2] Such terms as "humanity" and "culture" were only foibles of intellectualism; they were not expressions of Germanism, not truly representative of German character. The ever-increasing commercial expansion and competition of Germany in world markets resulted in materialistic attitudes which deeply affected German *Kultur*, giving it, as Krieck disgustedly observes, about the same flavor as "big business" in the United States.[3] In other words, all the finer things which went to make up what was genuinely German, all the spiritual characteristics of the German soul, and all those qualities imperative for the preservation and defense of Germany as a nation, were sacrificed for individual material gain.[4] Each state still enjoyed a large measure of autonomy, and still regulated much of the life of its people in its own way. So that with current thought sanctioning individualism for personal and material gain, with the spiritual welfare of the nation as a whole neglected, and with the prevailing type of education retrospective in character and very much out of line with the times, it was "no wonder" that Germany collapsed in 1918.

If there is one thing that the World War effectively taught Germany, it was the need to maintain a system of political leadership, "the leadership," Bäumler states, "that Frederick the Great gave during the Seven Years' War. . . . It was only po-

1. Ernst Krieck, *Geschichte und Politik* (Heidelberg, 1937), pp. 3–5. Here, as elsewhere, "political," derived from the Greek *"politikos,"* is construed to mean "belonging to the state or citizens of the state." The state is in this sense the "body politic" that defends the right of its existence against foreign aggression, and augments its strength and resources with the preservation and improvement of accepted morals. In a more particularized way, the National Socialists include in the body politic only those who are legally accepted members of the Volk.

2. Alfred Bäumler, *Politik und Erziehung*, pp. 7–8.

3. Krieck, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–9.

4. Krieck is really chiding the Germany previous to 1914 in the manner of the proverb, "What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

litical ignorance that caused Germany to lose the War, and gain an oppressive, unreasonable peace treaty." Although in 1919 there was some attempt to determine boundaries according to the race of people within the nation concerned, the losers, and particularly Germany, did not succeed in retaining all their native stock (Volk) within their borders. Parts of their community went as minorities to other states. As the treaty worked out, Bäumler continues, it became more and more evident that the old principle of national states was incongruous with "realistic political" demands. The impulse for change came from the German (and other) minorities along the borders "artificially" set up in 1919. Their agitation, he says, demonstrated to the world that it is racial groups that permanently determine nations, not territorial arrangements.[5] Conversely, and more specifically, the time has come when an individual is no longer the citizen of a state merely because he happens to be born within its boundaries, or is recognized by judicial act. "The individual is born by blood and destiny to belong and remain with that state which is representative of his race. National autonomy in state theory must give way to the autonomy of *Volk*."[6]

Of primary importance at this point is a definition of the nature of the National Socialist state, which will indicate its structure and relationship to the "nation," as a subjective organism. Study of pertinent literature shows a struggle to answer many questions lying close to this problem, not only in the interpretation of National Socialism but also as a universal issue. Among such questions may be found: (1) Is the state a mechanical organism of an absolute, autonomous nature, or is it the representing, administrative agency of the people, set up to respond to the latter's bidding? In short, is the state a means or an end? (2) What power shall the state enjoy? Is the state a sovereign superpower and supreme agency of control, directing lesser powers such as the church, family, and social organizations, or is it just another agency of social expression—one of many so-

5. Bäumler, *op. cit.*, p. 44. ("Der politische Volksbegriff.") Cf. Forsthoff, *Der totale Staat*, p. 51.

6. Bäumler, *op. cit.;* Forsthoff, *op. cit.*, p. 42: "The Weimar state was a state without *Volk*." For an account of the "impossible" relationship of the various states [*Länder*] to the Reich, see Otto Koellreutter, *Das Recht der Nationalen Revolution* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 4–13 especially.

cial forces? (3) As the sponsor of organic living and unity, as against diversity, to what types of homogeneity shall the state give general acceptance? Should it determine social customs (Kultur), or respond, merely, to social pressures naturally or artificially exerted? (4) What about individual welfare? To what extent must it be sacrificed for common welfare? What are the mutual duties and obligations of the state and the individual? (5) With regard to education, should it become a free builder of the social order, a molder of society in accordance with a preëstablished pattern, or be simply the passive reflection of state ideals?

Touching these issues, National Socialism seems to accept the following tenets, when it comes to state theory for education:

1. The state is a means to an end; the end is Volk.
2. State and race (folk) are inseparable, and consequently form the "folk-state" (*Volksstaat*).
3. The folk-state is hardly more than an instrument for the realization and promotion of racial integrity.
4. The state is the keeper, coördinator, and bearer of power, and hence becomes itself an indivisible collective power.
5. The state, being a power, is good, and therefore enjoys the right to determine the educational process as but one part of its entire cultural program.
6. The relationship of state to education is one of reciprocal obligations, but education's chief purpose is to mold the nation in accordance with the pattern set by the state.

Setting aside for the moment the question of individual freedom, which deserves special treatment in a later chapter, let us now examine various interpretations in the light of these tenets and seek to formulate some sort of generalization and synthesis. The reader is cautioned at the outset that it is not possible to categorize present German theory in topic fashion. National Socialism produces little clear-cut, programmatic theory, and the reader must not expect an outside agent to systematize theories which have little system in themselves.

The general trend of state theory develops first from a protest against lack of national unity and determination, and second from an urge for particularism. These impulses are not

new for Germany. What is new is the diversity of idiom expressing the envisaged ideals. Driven by a keen desire to found a new faith for national acceptance, theorists have adapted new formulas to what is old theory, as will be shown in the next chapter. For example, the quest of modern authors for solutions to their dilemma usually shows prior acceptance of the right of the state to "impose" its principles upon the governed, thus reviving the old concept of "imposition" as against the "composition" characteristic of democratic governments. The intensity of this "imposition" may vary with the author, as will be readily seen in the case of two Hegelians, Ernst Krieck and Gerhardt Giese, but their meaning finds swift accord.

In this connection, it will be best first of all to examine the theories of the Führer, and with these as guide, to elaborate from more specialized sources. This method is employed chiefly for convenience and is not intended to imply that contributing philosophy is simply the result of Hitler's dictates. As a matter of fact, much of it has exercised a directional force in molding the theories of *Mein Kampf* and the practice of National Socialism. If modern thinkers are seen truckling to Hitler, it is because he is, after all, no more than the living personification of their hopes.

State theory as expounded throughout the history of national idealism, including even the more recent writings, sounds hazy and dull when compared with the clear, fiery presentation of Hitler's thought, for to him the state has far more tangible objectives than those conceived by his predecessors or even contemporaries. The Führer warns his followers that if the state is to continue, the common people must be educated as to its aims and ideals in terms which they readily understand. In language commercial and slangy but to the point, Hitler's leaders must join him in "selling" his ideas to the public. They must also be constantly alert to progress, as evolved by public will; they must watch and guide changes in public sentiment and bring to positions of responsibility those who are best able to promote and maintain the state.[7]

7. The function and duty of the party are well brought out in Hitler's speech on "Nationhood," September 16, 1935, Nürnberg, in which he says: "So too the political party must not be content with the mere conduct of its organization

1. In Hitler's mind the fundamental principle is that the state is not an end but a means; a means to the end. It does not itself cause a higher culture or mode of living; it is the people, the race, that render this possible. The "end" is the preservation and fostering of a community of individuals who are physically and mentally alike. It is not the state but the character of a particular people and race, capable of higher human existence, that is the basis of its development. The "absolute good," according to Hitler, is purity of race. The goodness of a state is not necessarily to be judged by the level of its culture or position of relative strength in a world of nations; it is rather to be evaluated "solely by the degree of goodness of [the state's] institutions for its own people."[8] In this way the state becomes, in Hitler's terms, nothing but the organized will of the people

as such. It has a further responsibility. This responsibility is the political leadership of the nation, so that the nation may understand our conception of national defense and so that we may thus attract into the inner circles of the party organization those citizens who give proof of political talent and whom Providence has obviously called to take their part in the task of leadership. The National Socialist idea has its centre of attraction in the party. The party represents the political conscience and the political will. The function of the party primarily consists in establishing and maintaining a leadership of the people in every department of public life. The aim of this leadership is to mold the people in accordance with the political beliefs and principles of National Socialism. Therefore, in fulfilling its historical mission, it must examine the inner racial substance of our people, studying it in all its good qualities as well as in its defects, and finally draw practical rules of action from the knowledge thus obtained. Among these practical rules and principles are (1) The party must lay down and define the chief ends which have to be kept in view and followed in the whole ensemble of national effort, throughout every branch of public life. (2) It must endeavor to bring the actual trends of public life into harmony with the lines of action which must necessarily be followed, inasmuch as these lines are indicated by the conditions that are inherent in the character of our people. (3) In order to carry out this task, the party must have full belief and confidence in itself and must not allow itself to be deflected from its lines of action by any criticism or doubts as to the correctness of the undertaking on which it is engaged."

8. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf,* pp. 431–440. The quotation is on p. 435. Cf. Hitler's speech, "Liberty, Art and Nationhood," Nürnberg, September, 1935, in which he reiterates: "The party, the state, national economy and administration are all only a means to an end. And the end is the maintenance of the nation. This is the fundamental principle of National Socialism. Whatever is manifestly prejudicial to the well-being of the nation must be suppressed," and in a later speech, September 16, 1935, "Now, the starting point of the National Socialist teaching is not the state but the people. . . . Therefore National Socialists believe that the nucleus of all these problems must be sought in that living substance which, in virtue of its historical evolution, we call the German people."

(Volk).[9] It is not neutral; it is not an entity in itself. "The state and party are one," and state leaders are representatives of the Volk's political will.[10]

It follows from this that since state authority is not an end, the right of rebellion must be granted. If the state fails to become popular, if its propaganda no longer can lure support or its power is weakened by misuse of force, it cannot expect to continue.

From an observational point of view, such a claim deserves some comment. If Volk welfare is the "natural and primary thing in life," and its success is assured under National Socialism, one may ask why it should be necessary to grant the privilege of rebellion, a phenomenon which in the ideal state such as that sponsored by National Socialism would not only be inconceivable, but under the latter's control would not in any case be tolerated. Actually, the argument could be carried even further to include the very plausible assumption that since the right of rebellion is granted to a special group within a Volk, and a Volk is allowed to rebel against humanity, the individual ought logically to be granted the same privilege against the next highest group, and so on. Moreover, if the process were inverted, it might well include the right of humanity to rebel against a Volk!

2. State and race are inseparably bound together. The state, says Hitler, has little to do with particular economic interpretations or development. It is not an association of contracting parties for the fulfillment, within a limited area, of economic tasks, but the organization of a community of physically and spiritually similar beings united to facilitate the preservation of their species, and for the purpose of attaining the goal "assigned to them by Providence."[11] He cites Prussia to illustrate what he means by the state. Prussia, he says, was created "not by material [economic] qualifications, but by ideal virtues alone." Without these "ideal virtues," these "pure state-forming qualities," economic life collapses. "In the shadow of hero-

9. Cf. Otto Koellreutter, *Vom Sinn und Wesen der Nationalen Revolution* (1933), p. 7. Koellreutter claims that *Gleichschaltung* is only a means to an end, the end being the "assurance of political homogeneity." Soon the people will no longer feel themselves *"gleichgeschaltet,"* but simply *"innerlich umgestaltet"* ("inwardly transformed").

10. May 1, 1934, at Nürnberg.

11. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 164–165.

ism," to take one example of an ideal virtue, stalks materialism, and the catastrophe of modern world economy is proof of what happens when materialism overwhelms "ideal virtues."[12]

3. The folk-state is further described in a mystical way as an instrument for the self-realization of race. It is the guarding of racial integrity that matters.[13] According to Hitler, "the ultimate end of the folk-state is the maintenance of those original race elements which, as dispensers of culture, create the beauty and dignity of a higher humanity."[14] As such, the state is the living organism of a folk-community which not only guarantees the preservation of the community but is most conducive to the "highest freedom [of the individual] through the further development of its [the folk's] intellectual and ideal capacities."[15]

4. A more specialized definition may be gained from Ernst Krieck, who rejects the old meaning and idea of state as being "not at all appropriate" for the new Germany. The National Socialist state is in fact a "new political reality," whose form has only just begun to make itself understandable, and "for which no name has as yet been invented." In his recent three-volume work, which he only too comprehensively terms a *Folk-political Anthropology*, Krieck defines the new state as the vehicle for a system of politics created and exercised by the whole of life, as a result of the needs of the community.[16] (This interpretation is simple enough compared to Krieck's phraseology.) More specifically, the state is an organ for political function, an organization which exists as a keeper (*Heger*, "cherisher") and bearer of power,[17] a protector of peace and justice without and within; an organ through which a community takes on a historical shape; one which will "embody, assure and fulfill

12. *Ibid.*, p. 167. It must be submitted here that National Socialism is broadly a realization (though not the perfection) of two forces: the romantic tradition and the Prussian tradition. It is beyond the scope of this inquiry to enlarge upon conditioning factors in state theory except to remark that Hitler, in rejecting materialism, is really advocating the strong romantic and spiritual drives of the German soul, while Prussianism is at the root of his bureaucracy and military aspirations.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 434–437. 14. *Ibid.*, p. 434. 15. *Ibid.*

16. Ernst Krieck, "Völkisch-politische Anthropologie," *Die Wirklichkeit* (Leipzig, 1936), I, 97.

17. Hans Freyer, sociologist at Leipzig University, defines *Macht* as "the opportunity of carrying out one's will within a social framework even against

community will, life-purpose and collective duty." The state therefore becomes, with Krieck, a synonym for power; it is an organization formed from the rights and privileges of power, and represents the general will of the whole (Volk). An indispensable living expression of the Führer, it is destined to be the molder and master of Volk life.

The form of the state changes according to its racial character and "history-forming obligation." The responsibility of molding its own history and development is possible only when the state itself is formed in accordance with the proprieties of racial character and the racial goal. The destiny of the German Volk is bound up in these proprieties; only through them can the state fulfill its educative mission and "breeding power."[18] And Krieck is not slow to prove his point, at least to his own satisfaction, by recalling instances in history where ultimate victory over national crises, resulting mostly from foreign difficulties, has stimulated racial feeling and awakened the latent potentialities of a state to new life and proud self-assertion. He cites for example the rebirth of Athens after the Persian Wars, the Roman Empire after the Punic Wars, and the "most appropriate" example of all, "the foundation of the Bismarckian Empire on the battlefields of France." Germans are admonished to take a lesson from the negroes and the Indians (both of India and America) who, though in some instances possessed of high cultures, inevitably fell prey to foreign imperialism because they were "unpolitical"; they did not prove themselves willing to mold their destiny as a nation or form for themselves a "history-making state." Indeed, it is only through the state that man can be lifted out of the "ordinariness of his immediate surroundings," into realms of mastery, history, and destiny.[19]

More simply put, we find Krieck advocating the following process: (1) The state receives its power from the people and thus becomes a power. (2) It then combines all elements of folk-

active opposition upon which such an opportunity incidentally depends." (*Herrschaft und Planung* [Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg, 1933], p. 21.) Cf. also Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft,* p. 28, for further opinion on the theory of Macht and its corollary Herrschaft.

18. The use of the word *züchterisch* is highly descriptive here, since it carries the connotation of rearing animals, cultivating crops, and at the same time disciplining, in accordance with a prescribed pattern.

19. Krieck, *op. cit.,* pp. 97–98.

life into a "higher whole," whose primary duty it shall be to serve, maintain, and develop the community as a folk-state. (3) The state, in fostering community values, is itself influenced by the general will and welfare of the people. Outwardly this arrangement envisages a strong nationally minded community bent on attaining the highest possible collective development in all spheres of life for the good of the entire nation, national values being thus placed above either individual or international welfare.

The state is also a fashioner of proper and indigenous social life and behavior. It is, in the manner of Hitler, a "training master" for character building, political attitude, and conformation of collective (public) will. A soldierly (*soldatisch*, not *militärisch*) and heroic attitude on the part of the people is possible only through a realization of the necessity of such training in order to combat the original and "primitive evil" in man. Actually, asserts Krieck, the only way one can conquer this world in the desired heroic manner (with all the fine qualities involved in this approach) is to overcome that primitive evil, and the urges it creates in man.[20]

5. In an indirect answer to the question, "What is evil, and what is good?" Krieck asserts that power is good, for if man were inwardly and outwardly good, and power were considered evil, then "the state is evil and must be overturned rapidly and radically." But the state, in being a power and exercising force, is good and must extend its goodness to the correction of man as a potentially wayward member of it.[21] Here Krieck refers to Luther and Kant, who both conceived the state "as a primordial necessity to combat the wicked in man," this purpose being one of the "deepest" causes for its existence; these men were therefore "among the first opponents of liberalism."[22] Resting on Kant's pronouncement that "man is an animal who needs a master," Krieck opens fire on liberal thought for its optimism regarding the inherent good and "negative evil" in the individual (Leibnitz).[23] Actually, on the contrary, man lives to attain the good. The state exists with its might and discipline

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 99–100.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 101–102.
22. Krieck's interpretation of Kant and Luther as antiliberal in attitude is certainly open to serious question.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–103.

not as a deterrent to man in his aim for human perfection, but as an aid toward free growth and individual accomplishment. This is why National Socialism demands a powerful, disciplining state to overcome what evil it found in the German people. No longer must the German be accused of cowardice on the battlefield, as during the War of 1914, for this cowardice was only the result of individual self-training, the inevitable consequence of mealymouthed indecision, characteristic of a multiparty system and the "political evil" entrenched in German character.[24] The evil in man which National Socialism vows to overcome is lodged in his natural selfishness and egotism, two regrettable qualities which overcome any longing of a man's conscience, and sense of (proper) decision, to do good for his fellow man. (Krieck refers here to the "scoundrel" [*Schweinehund*], who saves himself at the cost of the life of a comrade.)

Accepting the inherent evil in man, Krieck condones the educating and disciplining mission of the state in its desire to create soldiers of state-will out of men who are not born soldiers. For if individualism is not curbed, man in pursuit of self-interest will exploit and rape the community. (It would be perhaps idle to remind Krieck that the state in his philosophy may well be considered as exploiting the individual for its own interests and those of the "whole people" it represents.) But this renowned German educator has a point, and insists on attempting to prove it. He asserts in effect that if man is inherently good, and we accept the optimism which liberalism offers, then there is really nothing to overcome. All the qualities necessary for human achievement in heroic attitude, mastery, sacrifice, honor, race, decision, and historical destiny need no longer be controlled. The state, he repeats, becomes a potential evil, and individual freedom opens the door to an age of social destruction, to Fichte's "age of fulfilled sinfulness."[25]

Krieck also seconds Hitler in the principle that state-power functions as a breeder of Volk essence and as a taskmaster for the Volk as a whole. More basically, the Heidelberg professor sees all national life comprised in man's very ancient modes of threefold organization, involving the political, economic, and specific intellectual or cultural functions. This organization is an organic unity, all its parts being connected and reacting

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 103–104. 25. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

mutually upon each other. As a matter of fact, Krieck establishes a solid and fundamental axiom when he says that mutuality and interinfluence are the essence of life; not independence and autonomy. Culture, economics, government, and religion are all different phases of the same national basis of life, in that they all contribute to the service of the whole nation. As such, they must be subject to its organ of will, the state.[26]

By the same token education is only a part of the general cultural program. Since the state is the political and legal organization of the will of the nation, it follows that its educational duty is to see that its theories are "rooted in the mentality of the nation," thus creating for itself "a basis for modeling citizens under its norms and values." By strengthening its basis of existence and fighting against everything that endangers it, the state breeds through its institutions a "citizen-like norm of mentality through which it receives its intellectual basis and moral bondage."[27]

As a part of the general cultural program of the state, education necessarily involves three fields of concentration: the army, the working or productive class, and the scholastic profession. Since these groups cannot function without each other, there must be no separation of them in actual treatment. Culture, aside from certain of its religious aspects, remains an inseparable element, and it follows that independent intellectual life, autonomous education, culture per se, or whatever separations were formerly in vogue now become along with absolute humanism "ghosts of past epochs." Krieck reëmphasizes very strongly that "intellectual life," inevitably influencing and influenced by economic, social, and political life, cannot very well remain apart from it.[28] Men of learning, prone to serve school politics, school culture, and pedagogical theory are, in so doing, representatives of a separatist culture. They must learn to turn their face toward state politics, toward the performance of high state functions, because politics certainly cannot get along without such intellectual influence. As is the case

26. Ernst Krieck, *Völkischer Gesamtstaat und Nationale Erziehung* (1933), p. 33.

27. Ernst Krieck, *Grundriss der Erziehungswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1936), p. 40.

28. Krieck, *Völkischer Gesamtstaat*, p. 33. (It must be remembered that education is only a part of National Socialist Kultur.)

with economy and politics, there is for culture (including education) only one task, and that is national fulfillment, and a national shaping of life as part and parcel of Volk education.

6. To forestall any conclusion that state-centered power is conceived as one-sided and inviolable, one may consult Gerhardt Giese, a Hegelian student and professor of pedagogy, who shows that the relation of state to education is one of reciprocal obligations and duties. Functioning education must necessarily place demands upon the state in the same measure as it receives and obeys them. The process becomes in the professor's exposition an interplay of mutual obligations and dependencies, where life's patterns are molded through the interinfluence of state and education in the comprehensive sphere of Volk-life, the state thus being willing to revise its form and attitudes as life changes. But there is no question in Giese's mind that education is bound up with state-will, for the more Germany suffers in its relations with other nations, the more must the importance of the state idea be lodged in the hearts and minds of the younger generation. The connection between state and education is indissoluble; education is a part of "the political"; all forms of educational endeavor are directed toward service to this "political."[29]

Giese agrees with Hans Freyer, an ardent devotee of state might, that "education is nothing more than a political manipulation of youth," but warns that a dividing line exists between politics and education. It is the task of pedagogy to acknowledge this dividing line in seeking the fundamental relation between the two. The "political pedagogue" understands the "essence" of education and its functional significance in the folk-community; he also understands the essence or "nature of being" of the state, and works out its relation to education so that he is in a proper position to treat contemporary questions of state education.

29. Gerhardt Giese, *Staat und Erziehung (Grundzüge einer politischen Pädagogik und Schulpolitik)* (Hamburg, 1933), *"Einleitung,"* pp. 9–10. Even as early as 1923 Dr. Giese began the shaping of his ideas on the state and education as exemplified by his work on Hegel's idea of state and his conception of state education. (*"Hegels Staatsidee und der Begriff der Staaterziehung,"* M. Niemeyer, Halle, 1926.) Since that time the professor's thoughts and actions have been steadfastly centered around a national political education in accordance with the German Volk and state theory, and in contrast to what he terms the "party education of the Republic."

Herbart once said: "The way from pedagogics to politics is a crooked one," and added that an examination of the school from the state standpoint was not the proper way of finding out the needs and possibilities of education, for "no one can learn a thing properly when he has to use it as a starting point or as a means for some other end." He who wishes to discover a new pedagogy in the proper way does not "call to his aid state arts, theories and desires." If this is done, education turns out to be a "buttress in defense of politics."[30] Giese agrees with Herbart's general implications, but believes that education must be actively concerned with state welfare. In contrast to Herbart's view, education must not only teach "political interests" but be "enthusiastic about political developments," and minimize any teaching which fosters "selfish" self-growth.[31]

Since the relationship between state and education is a mutual one, it follows that the state has its duties toward education, in that it must construct its thought and activity "in accordance with the will of the new generation." The state changes both in concept and purpose as the people change or *will* a change. But retroactively, and this accords with Hördt's theory, "Youth must grow into the super-individual spirit and form of the state, and take it into their heart and soul." Giese calls this process a "marriage of the subjective spirit with the objective" (state presumably), and it constitutes the essence of education, in the sense of formal discipline.[32] Indeed, since men are the richest treasures of the state, every single individual must, through education, become an "impregnable fortress" for the state's perpetual maintenance and defense.[33]

A transition to the more subtle, yet scholarly, approach of Alfred Bäumler reveals a keen desire for the complete revaluation of state theory and practice under a policy of *activism*, and thus betrays strong influence from Fichte, Nietzsche, and Bachofen. Bäumler is probably the most favored philosopher in the Reich today, so much so that he has been elected to fill the newly created chair in political philosophy at the University of Berlin. From this position he is able to exercise great influence in the appointment of philosophy professors in all German universities.

30. Giese, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–49.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Bäumler argues that the chief function of the state lies in the *active* protection of its people. This implies not an indecisive, retrospective set of theories, or a complacent, passive behavior, so characteristic of states that "live on under the influence of former vigors and virtues," but a state that in its dynamism and activism realizes that "nothing is conclusively achieved," and that accomplishment must be determined in terms of a living reality, bordering on spiritual and material aggression. Deeds are not the "willing and accidental servants of ideas," for there is something just as theoretical, just as unfathomable, about a deed as about a thought.[34] In his essay, "The Political Concept of Volk,"[35] Bäumler declares the dualistic conception of people-state to be false, since it is wrong to set "the unpolitical people" against the "political state." He scorns the position taken by liberalism that the state is nothing but a passive apparatus, for under such a government "the people remain the same: a something that lets something happen and with whom something happens."[36] But under National Socialism it is life's realities, not theories, that count: "To us the Reich is not a super-idea; it is a reality, wherever Germans inside and outside of the Reich concentrate new hopes on Adolf Hitler."[37]

The National Socialist state has already been described as anti-individualistic. From the above interpretations it is now seen that it is also antipluralistic. Now these two characteristics are not quite the same. Anti-individualism is directed against the supremacy of the individual; whereas antipluralism denies the liberal conception of society as something apart and free from, at times even opposed to, the state. National Socialism, in other words, denies that state and society are disparate. More specifically, it denies the right of any nonpolitical so-

34. Alfred Bäumler, *Politik und Erziehung,* p. 9. Another National Socialist advocate of activism is Hans Bäcker (*Deutschland und das Abendland,* Jena, 1935) who preaches, in line with Bäumler, that the spiritual substance comes only through action. Bäumler is true to form here, for as a student of the Youth Movement and *Männerbünde* he realizes the need of satisfying the formula, "Youth demands action." Cf. also Hitler: "The knower must become a 'can-doer'," *Mein Kampf,* p. 277.

35. *Ibid.,* pp. 9–10.

36. *Ibid.,* p. 45: *"Ein Etwas, das geschehen lässt, und mit dem etwas geschieht."*

37. *Ibid.,* p. 46.

cial group to be independent of the body politic and to follow its own self-contained laws. National Socialism sees such divisions or entities as undermining the integration of the community into a strong body politic. The state, therefore, must alone enjoy sovereign control; its jurisdiction must, temporarily at least, embrace all fields of public activity. The thesis of this theory may be stated in terms of totalitarian integration (as opposed to liberal separatism); unity of public action; subordination of all social groups to the body politic; and a *political* education in the more fundamental sense of the word.[38]

Hördt, for example, observes with great concern that if the state surrenders the right to make decisions binding for all, it becomes a puppet for private interests and will as a consequence inevitably "pass on to others." The ultimate consequence, proved by history, may be found in Hördt's own involved words: "The most visible external signs of a pluralistic decomposition of fundamentally indivisible state-power are to be seen in [such things as] party armies."[39] (Hördt means that armed force is a result of political power; the more the power is shared, the more "armies" there are, each one representing the party to which it adheres. He refers, of course, to Germany just before 1933.) A people that renounces national political will-for-power and self-assertion becomes weak and "passes out of history"; indeed "they become an anvil because they have not wished to be, or cannot be, the hammer."[40] In the last analysis collective power must decide. Where large numbers of "party-like" economic, social, or confessional groups insist on private decisions affecting primarily their own particular interests, there can be no state of balance. Such groups become "pluralistic counterforces" that lose their strength in the absence of a coördinator; their powers of decision are weakened because there is no unified interdependence in the execution of such decisions.[41]

38. Walter Landé, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–109. Landé, incidentally, uses the term "derived authority" for the restricted privileges enjoyed by the family or the church in education. See p. 111.

39. Philipp Hördt, *op. cit.*, p. 70. 40. *Ibid.*

41. Carl Schmitt (*Probleme der Demokratie*, Berlin, 1928) decries the democratic state for its dependence upon individual social groups. The state under this system becomes a "related power" with "problematic ends." It is simply a "product of a compromise between warring factions," at the most a "neutral intermediator (*Vermittler*)," pp. 4, 11.

In National Socialist Germany there must be no more "deciding for one's self," no more disintegration and transition into other formations of power; the state as a single power-formation makes decisions for all groups—lightning, binding decisions from the "new bearer of political power." Hördt's formula, reduced to its lowest denominator, is this: "Decisions must come about through an entirety [*Einheit*] over a multiplicity [*Vielheit*], and not from a multiplicity, the state being the entirety."[42]

The right of the National Socialist state to fashion social life and behavior is to be realized, of course, through education. In asserting this right, Hitler constructs his program of educational procedure around nationalism and racial exclusiveness as determined by free and strong state-power. When it comes to a question of deciding between cultural development and the development of state-power, the former must give way, for no sacrifice can be too great for national preservation with its incumbent "security of political freedom." Education must foster the right dispositions and attitudes to accord with the will of the folk-state; it must encourage absolute reliance upon state-will and purpose. The education and training of every young member of the Volk must be directed toward imbuing him with the idea that his race is unconditionally superior to all others.[43]

Education for Hitler thus becomes merely a means for national discipline. It is just one of "those institutions that are the stronghold of energy and vitality of the nation." Substantially, it is the most important agency in "guiding the stream of

42. Hördt, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–71. Carl Schmitt (*Der Hüter der Verfassung*, Tübingen, 1931) refers to these "organized formations" with their "standing army of paid functionaries" and a complete system of aid and protective organizations within which the members are spiritually, socially, and economically (no mention of politically) held together. In analyzing the trends toward totalitarianism Schmitt elaborates upon the "organized social complexes" (*Organisationskomplexe*) with an influential bureaucracy which formerly penetrated all phases of human existence. These organizations nullified any liberalistic separation and neutralization of the various phases of life, such as religion, economics, education, or any branch of civilization that can of itself become totalitarian.

What Schmitt really means is that totalitarianism was visible in small cultural groups within the larger national area. The state, then, in this sense, becomes supertotalitarian in nature. Cf. also Eduard Spranger's theory of "totalistic cultural programs," *Volk, Staat, Erziehung*, Leipzig, 1932.

43. See section entitled "Hitler's Educational Ideals."

revolution into the safe channels of evolution."[44] As such it must be taken under the special care of the government.[45]

The Führer's decision to stage through the creation of a National Socialist state the complete rebirth of German civilization is wholly in keeping with Bäumler's ideas. For it is his wish that the development of the German state into the National Socialist People's State be a matter not simply of constitutional change, but of reshaping the whole life-mold of the nation.[46] Bäumler sees the German Volk as "coming of age," as taking their destiny in their own hands and bringing up youth in accordance with this destiny, preordained as it is. In this way the entire schooling of youth is based upon a single authoritative philosophy and not a number of philosophies pursuing potentially antagonistic ends. There can be only one authority for the school, not the dubious, hesitant, multilateral authority of the "neutral state," but the fixed, indigenous, concentric philosophy of the Volksstaat, a philosophy which unites the farmer, the worker, and the businessman in mutually beneficial aims.

In a beautifully worded paragraph Philipp Hördt transfers his reader from state theory to implications for education and school obligation. Turning back to the pages of Walther Dilthey, a name that has evoked much reverence in Germany recently, Hördt finds elaborations of the general idea that knowledge means power. For example, all activities in commerce and industry, particularly under a mercantile system, are given greater impetus when economic knowledge is injected into the participants. This is of course elementary, but with the development of national economic attainment, the state itself has to grow in power. For the bases of this power and for the support of its material welfare the state looks to education. It is further clear that productivity, so desirable nowadays in a world that operates on a competitive basis, is only the result of an intelligent, energetic, and coöperative activity of a large number of individuals. It is to the interest of the state to educate this large number of individuals in such a manner as to "enable them to produce as much and as well as possible."[47] Considering the

44. July 6, 1933, to the Reich Commissioners.
45. February 1, 1933, "Proclamation to the German Nation."
46. Bäumler, *Politik und Erziehung*, p. 94.
47. Hördt, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27. Hördt points to Pestalozzi as a champion of edu-

matter from the point of view of the individual, the school has the obligation to develop his peculiar strengths and capacities, give him knowledge and skills which will satisfy his drive toward orientation in the world, and enable him to take a position within the social body which corresponds to his talents, capabilities and inclinations.[48] But instead of allowing the pedagogy of a Rousseau or a Herbart to determine the course of individual development, the state now unites pedagogy with politics (echoes of Krieck), its own development with human development, and its process with Volk unfolding.[49]

But education will not be uniform, it will not possess that "uniformity which levels into an all-consuming collectivism"; it will rather become an agency to effect a "growing together of all parts into the whole."[50] In this connection, Hördt expounds a subtle but a very essential branch of National Socialist state philosophy, which conceives education as molding the whole, rather than the whole molding education to conform passively to a preconceived pattern.[51] However, it is clear that the school is not the concern of just one social organization; it is not a

cation of youth for productivity and gainful activity (*gewinnbringende Wirtschaft; gewerbliche Tätigkeit*), p. 26. But Hördt is also aware that the great educator featured the "finer ends" of social propriety, religion, humanity, and "true education of the heart" (p. 27).

48. *Ibid.*, p. 88. This same idea is expressed by Wilhelm, *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1936), V, 126. See also Grunsky (*Seele und Staat*, p. 74): "State destiny and decision is determined by the individual spirit and vice versa," blood being the "determinant of the individual spirit, through [the intermediary of] the community." See his diagram, p. 76:

	Blut	*Geist*
Einzelseele:	*Seele*	*Persönlichkeit*
Gemeinschaft:	*Volk (Rasse)*	*Staat*

Here one may conclude that the Volk is a supersoul consisting of inviolable individual souls (used in the corporeal sense—could be translated "hearts"), while state is a collective superpersonality reflecting, yet controlling, individual personality.

49. Hördt, *op. cit.*, p. 89. Cf. Krieck, *Erziehungsphilosophie* (Munich, 1930), p. 68; also his *Völkischer Gesamtstaat*, p. 12: "The problems of education cannot be rightly or effectively conceived without state problems, as also the state without its appropriate education."

50. Hördt, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

51. Hördt refers to the special capability of the Germans for federalization, terming the process a growth to higher unity through "confederative formations" founded on their love for corporate living and sense of family, community, and tribal ties (p. 90). For historical precedent on Hördt's ideas see O. von Gierke: *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (Berlin, 1868), I, 3. At this

representative of the state, or of the church, or of the family, but of them all.[52]

Further diversification in the exposition of state theory may be found among other exponents of National Socialist educational philosophy. For example, Rudolf Benze, director of the German Central Institute, characterizes the general implications in the statement that "National Socialism takes its inner justification of national community from the eternal laws of inheritance and race that bind a nation together, and beyond which no ties exist." In Benze's terms, a nation is a race contained within a state. He compares the individual to a cell in a body, which cannot exist outside of the whole: "The individual does not exist for his own sake but has to fit himself into the whole body of the people."[53]

Another point of view is to be had from Georg Usadel, who winds his way through biological values to the conclusion that the people are a lifelong community, every member of which is the embodiment in himself of national characteristics.[54] Situated in the heart of Europe, Germany has no borders protected by nature. None of her major rivers begins or ends in Germany, a circumstance which has been too conducive to "spiritual expansion" and "foreign absorption."[55] While this tendency has produced thinkers and poets in the German people, it has also made

point Gierke says broadly: "The Germans are not far behind any other people in their trend toward universality and in their capacity for state organization. In their love for freedom they surpass the majority, but in one thing do they excel, that is their gift for *Genossenschaftsbildung* (literally 'society-' or 'association-culture'). No other people has the same love for coöperative life, the same instinct for family, community and race." The federalization process is also discussed *passim* in Ernst Krieck, *Der Staat des deutschen Menschen* (Berlin).

52. *Ibid.*, p. 92. Cf. also W. Färber: *Die Schule in Staat und Volk* (Furche Verlag, Berlin), pp. 30, 199 principally. Färber discusses the general theme of state and folk consciousness in changing conceptions of education, and the resulting significance for school administration. Eduard Spranger, *op. cit.*, has a chapter on education for folk consciousness (pp. 57–76) in which he carries Färber's ideas forward with the conception that race consciousness rests upon a common faith and belief in the future. Spranger's program is not chauvinistic, however, and imperialism and land greed have no place in his philosophy (1932).

53. Rudolf Benze, *Nationalpolitische Erziehung im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 5–7.

54. Georg Usadel, *Wissen, Erziehung, Schule* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 16–17.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

them too susceptible to foreign thought. Foreign customs and cultures have been assimilated without regard for the fact that they were detrimental to German national character, political situation, and entire style of living. Furthermore, such assimilation has influenced the German, against his natural bent, to become too individualistic, to live his own "personal, small life," just as did the individual states in their desire for private autonomy. The great natural gifts of the German, we hear, are his penchant for an heroic-soldierly way of life, and his talent for organization.[56]

Although much of Karl Sturm is but corroboration of what has already been said, this National Socialist educator sees the state as a pattern of control and power; something great, high, and worthy of respect and reverence. Hegel's conviction that "state-power is . . . absolute matter itself," he says, suits National Socialist theory perfectly, and the individual must become increasingly aware that the state is the "goal and absolute content [*Inhalt*]." "The heroism of service to the state is the command of the hour." But Sturm differs with Hegel in that the state is not in itself something absolute and admirable; it is to be valued and respected only as it becomes a folk-state, "a vital and struggling order of people based on historical situation and pristine vigors."[57] National Socialism, and here Sturm repeats Bäumler, supposes a political and soldierlike state consisting of political soldiers. The state is not above politics (that is, the whole people); nor is the leader the sovereign spokesman of the state. The leader and the state are the representatives of the people; they are their agent and act for them on their behalf.[58] The political soldier is educated first for able activity, and second for a grasp of the contemporary situation of his people.[59] Education and educators are "consequently organs of the state, and representatives of its authority." The teacher receives his orders from the state and is responsible in all his endeavors to the state alone. To repeat the phrase of the Bavarian Minister, Hans Schemm, the teacher is now a "synthesis

56. *Ibid.*

57. Karl Sturm, *Deutsche Erziehung im Werden* (Berlin, 1938), p. 105. Cf. Bäumler, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

58. Sturm, *op. cit.*

59. *Ibid.*

of army officer and educator." "He is the leader and example of his charges." The educator thus becomes one with the state; the pupil, one with the educator.[60]

Finally, Georg Stieler leaves no doubt that the state wills and controls Volk-life "in every way." To him the state is a "hierarchy" embodying a unified form of leadership, determined through its inherent power to prevent hostile forces from interfering with its development and self-assertion. Education must recognize the state as the "highest ruling" agency, and incorporate this idea into its function.[61] Assuming that there are such things as "official morals," the state is the only power that can make them successful,[62] but all exercise of power must be in accordance with the "spiritual independence" of the individual and his "disposition," for if private personality is violated, state personality will also perish.[63]

Variations on the general theme of state theory and education in National Socialism are as numerous as their authors, so that an investigator has to be extremely careful in sorting out the theories which are in fairly common practice today. For instance, excursions into Gottfried Benn's emotional and poetic state-worship,[64] while bringing to light sentiments very characteristic of Germany today, would present a type of theory which still belongs to the realm of contemplation. Nor could National Socialism have a more ardent exponent than Hans Alfred Grunsky of the University of Munich, who sees the movement

60. *Ibid.*, p. 113. Cf. Walter Voigtländer, *Die Begriffe Volk und Staat in den neueren Theorien über Geschichte und Geschichtsunterricht*, p. 215.

61. Georg Stieler, *Gegenstand und Methode*, pp. 6, 10.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 15. Stieler divides life into three "higher powers" in its relationship to National Socialist education: (1) The individual as a necessary cog in the wheel. (Stieler supports self-education.) (2) The state. (3) "Countless communities, realms or organs of Volk-life which support the state and at the same time are regulated by it, without necessarily being a part of it," p. 10. He is slightly more "liberal" than Hördt, who warns against any catering to "part-powers [*Teilmächte*]," since state-power must remain indivisible. But Stieler submits that these part-powers must remain determinants of state attitude and program (pp. 15 ff.).

64. Gottfried Benn, *Der neue Staat und die Intellektuellen*, Stuttgart, 1933. (Surprisingly enough, Benn is a Jewish poet, who according to Kolnai, *op. cit.*, p. 206, was formerly a communist.) Benn is a great believer in the "spiritual" principle of *Führertum*. To him history is "elemental," thus giving excuse for the new "biological type" he advocates. See "Introduction" to Benn, *op. cit.*

through the intent eyes of a national purist.[65] But Grunsky concentrates on reapplying Plato's parallelism of soul and state, rationalizing irrationalism and breaking down liberalism with what he calls liberalistic solutions.[66] For a first-class defense of the leadership principle, for example, one could do no better than consult Dr. Grunsky. For him, it is the natural result of a spiritual concept of the German people which causes them to respond to leadership, for "state concepts always correspond to spiritual concepts."[67] "The state is the law of man's concealed soul";[68] "the National Socialist man builds and carries the National Socialist State."[69]

A state theorist of strong nationalistic tendency is Ernst Forsthoff, who sets the spirit of his message by quoting Goethe to the effect that "only weapons produce."[70] Forsthoff raises the "majesty of the state" to an organ which unites the scattered powers of all orders into a "legitimate political totality."[71] From him we learn that Germans have only slight affinity for west-European democracy. "A healthy instinct keeps the German people from the dreadful leveling and evening of folk-

65. Hans Alfred Grunsky, *Seele und Staat,* Berlin, 1935. This book has as its subtitle: "The psychological foundations of the National Socialist victory over the bourgeois [*bürgerlich*] and the Bolshevist." See especially pp. 91 ff.

66. *Ibid.,* pp. 28 ff., which discuss liberalistic reality as a mask for lack of freedom. To Grunsky reality is misconceived by proponents of liberalism. "Reality is bringing a matter to a courageous [*mutig*] decision after close examination." (Shades of Hitler's "mettlesome decisiveness.") Cf. also "The free man is a warrior," Nietzsche, quoted, p. 35.

67. *Ibid.,* pp. 64–65, 110 especially. This is followed immediately by concepts of obedience and honor (pp. 66 ff.). In a characteristic sentence Grunsky adds together the elements of strength, endurance, steadfastness, toughness, and unshakable will, as more strongly inherent in the Nordic race than in any other (p. 69). On p. 46 Grunsky speaks of the leadership principle as the "little spark within our soul" (Meister Eckehard's *Seelenfünklein,* resurrected also by Rosenberg), the "leader instinct within every soul" that accounts for the ready understanding and acceptance on the part of the Germans of the greater national leadership principle. See also p. 110, and cf. Alfred Rosenberg, *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts,* pp. 217 ff. Otto Koellreutter is the authority on the leadership principle as inextricably bound up with the Volk idea. (*Der deutsche Führerstaat* [Tübingen, 1934], p. 13 especially.)

68. *Ibid.,* p. 3. He further explains that the "poles [*Pole*] of the soul are at the same time the poles of the state and vice versa," p. 21. (For a most interesting and novel diagram of these poles see p. 22.)

69. *Ibid.,* p. 6.

70. Ernst Forsthoff, *Der totale Staat,* Hamburg, 1934, title page.

71. *Ibid.,* p. 10.

growth" which is one of democracy's weaknesses.[72] In fact, Forsthoff establishes new levels for the state, since it must be based not on private ideas of humanity, but on a humanity that it sets up for its people in a world of friends and enemies.[73] Society, let alone the individual, cannot exist apart from the state, and it behooves the latter to be far more than a mechanism for regulating society or for arbitrating private differences. "The state is society; society is the state."[74] That the individual is "in duty totally bound" to the state in every phase of his existence is a dependent corollary of this point of view. But it must be added that this bond enhances the private character of the individual, bringing him the realization that he is a constant participant in national destiny. Forsthoff is quick to say that "the state does not intend to issue commands and edicts affecting the smallest cells of *Volk*-life."[75]

A synthesis of all these variations on state theory and education is not difficult because, regardless of individual emphasis, there exists in each writer a certain desire to establish interdependent connections between all the agencies concerned. One is struck by constantly repeated expressions of the completeness, wholeness, and mutual conformity to be attained in all

72. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43. Forsthoff believes that since the state must bear all the responsibility of the nation's conduct, in a society of nations it must have all the command (*Herrschaft*). On Herrschaft (*Führung*, "leadership") and *Gefolgschaft* ("followship") see pp. 34 ff.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 46. It would be unfair not to mention Carl Schmitt, the father of much of the state theory now in vogue, and a National Socialist party jurist (once called Goering's "crown lawyer"). Schmitt projects his state theory more into the realm of ideal state behavior within several other states (of the world), whereby the individual member of the state devotes himself unreservedly to defending his country's right of self-assertion in a world of potential enemies. (Carl Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen*, Munich, 1932, *passim*, and also *Staat, Bewegung, Volk*, Hamburg, 1933, in which state, movement and people are conceived as a "trinity of political unity.") An apparent disciple of Schmitt is Werner Sombart whose advanced years seem to add weight to his concept of a self-assertive totality, where the statesman will serve the national idea in preference to private social interests. (*Deutscher Socialismus*, Charlottenburg, 1934.) And in the same vein one might cite Ferdinand Fried (pseudonym for Friedrich Zimmermann), Ernst Jünger, Hellmut Nicolai (another party jurist), Otto Koellreutter (especially his *Volk und Staat in der Weltanschauung des Nationalsozialismus*, 1935), and Gerhard Günther (a warrior-state theorist in the style of Bäumler and Schmitt).

realms of Volk-life. It is always easy to synthesize ideas that tend to synthesize themselves, provided of course that they play harmoniously around the central theme. It works out somewhat as follows: (1) Volk, with its implications and derivations, is the beginning and the end of all endeavor. (2) The state is the appointed agency of the people and is responsible for its welfare and progress. (3) This responsibility entails the assumption of unlimited power, so that the state becomes to all intents and purposes synonymous with power. (4) The state, as a mechanical body, is only a means; the end is Volk. (5) Education is a part of the general program of Kultur, Kultur itself being determined by the Volk essence and regulated by state-power, just as any other branch of national life (such as economy, religion, etc.). (6) Education is at the service of the state in its desire to develop the end (which is Volk), but education is conversely a determinant of state method and aspiration. (7) None of these agencies is an abstract organization existing for its own benefit and in its own private world. In fact there is nothing absolute except possibly Volk, for the ethnic substance naturally influences every sphere of human development.

More broadly speaking, National Socialist state theory involves a determination of the future, whereas the "older" political attitude contemplated the past.[76] It concentrates at the same time on present and urgent things, in constructing its Reich out of a living political concept of a people. It recalls to being "the original (even tribal) order." It requires more than a mere citizen of the state (*Staatsbürger*); a citizen of and from the people (*Volksbürger*). It presupposes a Reich which will henceforth guard the future of its people as a living whole.[77]

As a consequence, education must be of the political type, guided and controlled by the state and not by loyalties to religious sects, the family, or other social groups. Education must be the interpreter and defender of state-will and welfare.

2. *Individual Freedom*

If we ask ourselves what in fact are the forces by which a state may be created or indeed maintained, they can be summed up in a single ex-

76. Joseph Goebbels (*Wesen und Gestalt,* p. 22 especially) stresses the policy of planning for the future.

77. Cf. Bäumler, *op. cit.,* pp. 48–49.

pression: the ability and the readiness of the individual to sacrifice himself for the community.

Adolf Hitler.

Individual freedom presupposes, and is identical to, responsibility.

Hans Heyse (1937).

It is very easy to misunderstand the extent and character of individual freedom as envisaged by National Socialism. Liberalism sees the individual sacrificed completely for Volk welfare, and not without justification. But the fundamental premises of individual freedom are wholly different in National Socialism from those of democracy, so much so that the freedom of the individual German is considered today even greater than that enjoyed in a democracy. In order to illustrate what is meant it will be necessary to draw on one or two inherited concepts of freedom and individualism.

The theorist par excellence of Fascism, and especially of Italian Fascism, is Giovanni Gentile, formerly Minister of Education in Italy. To Gentile, the climax of man's spiritual development through freedom *implies* freedom as the condition of the entire life of the spirit; freedom is implied in man's natural and spiritual development. Education and training without freedom implied are lifeless, since the very idea of freedom is irretrievably bound up in man's environment, cultural, spiritual, and functional, and is the creation of man himself. Freedom, therefore, becomes impossible in a foreign environment. Real personal freedom, and this is most important, is not the result of self-assertion, but of a change of view and a change of behavior on the part of a matured society. Gentile repeats Kant in the remark that if individual freedom seeks to struggle against social necessity, it combats its own essential characteristics; for it is only through the social organism that individual freedom may become expressive.[78]

The German (though not purely National Socialist) counterpart of Gentile is Othmar Spann, a Viennese professor who, interestingly enough, refused the newly created chair in political philosophy at Berlin now occupied by Bäumler. Actually, Professor Spann was already formulating attitudes of anti-individualism, long before Italian or German Fascism came to

78. Giovanni Gentile, *The Reform of Education*, p. 462 and *passim*.

power. In 1919 "during the hour of great despair," he insisted that a choice had to be made between individualism or universalism. He asserted that if we want to avoid the consequences of the one, we must accept the other. But what are the consequences of individualism? It leads, he said (showing influence from Fichte), to democracy; democracy leads to liberalism; and liberalism leads to bolshevism. Despite Hegelian influence, Marx was at heart an individualist; and individual self-assertion can lead only to communism.[79]

Spann's general ideas find ready welcome in Germany today. Ernst Krieck joins him in asserting that Marxian socialism does not overcome individualism; "it merely shifts the center of gravity." Identical attitudes may be found with Hitler: "Western democracy is the forerunner of Marxism"; with Rosenberg: "Democratic and Marxian movements take their stand on the happiness of the individual"; or, more indirectly in Gottfried Feder's curt phrase "capitalism and its Marxian and bourgeois satellites."

Now where democracy asserts the equality of individuals, National Socialism upholds the *individualism of unequals;* and this is the starting point of its constructive philosophy, which sets up a society of individuals in the form of a pyramid.[80] Without tracing the roots of such a conception, which would entail lengthy discussion of Ludwig Klages' lofty concepts of the function of body, soul, and mind, a useful formula would be: *The individual is free provided he wills as the Volksstaat wills.* Personal freedom is never productive unless it comes from, and is associated with, the community which makes it possible, for man can enjoy freedom only when it is nurtured and protected by a community, which is both the producer and consumer of its benefits. Several corollaries are implied, among them:

1. There is no better freedom than that controlled by a state as the governing representative of the Volk.

2. The state furthers individual freedom by reconciling petty individual conflicts.

79. Karl Polanyi, "The Essence of Fascism," *Christianity and the Social Revolution* (Gollancz, London, 1935), pp. 362–363.

80. Edgar Jung contrasts this with "the individualism of modern democracy with its doctrine of equality" and its consequent destruction of all value-levels. See his *Die Herrschaft der Minderwertigen,* Berlin, 1930.

3. Individual freedom is but temporary; Volk is eternal.

4. The real German is not by nature given to will contrary to Volk-will.

The relation of state to individual takes on very definite terms in *Mein Kampf*. The basis of it is, of course, voluntary self-sacrifice of the individual to the racial community. "The ability and readiness of the individual to sacrifice himself for the community is the force which alone can create and maintain the state."[81] Certain qualifications of citizenship are especially appropriate here: "The youthful member of the state is in duty bound to pass through an educational training which will make him a racial and national member of the community." The successful completion of all the steps up through military service entitles the individual to "solemn investment with the rights of citizenship." Moreover, citizenship within the German state is a privilege: "It must be a greater honor to be a streetsweeper and a citizen of this Reich than to be a king in a foreign state."[82]

But the individual is not swallowed up by the state. There is place for him in Hitler's theory of heroism. "The majority," says the Führer, "can never be a substitute for the man. . . . Just as a hundred fools never make one wise man, so from a hundred cowards no heroic decision can ever emerge."[83] Hitler's hero worship, of which more will be said later, "will keep clean the doorstep" of the immortal folk-state. "The portal of Pantheon is not for the crawler; it is for heroes," he exclaims.[84] The substance of flesh and blood in the nation automatically requires equal rights for all, but equal rights demand equal duties, and the highest freedom of the individual therefore depends upon his assuming the duties meted out to him by the state.[85]

Georg Usadel of the Ministry of Education is lucid on this point. The German's inherent desire for freedom must always be considered in the policy of political unity. But this freedom must also be joined to the "suitability" of being both a good leader and a good follower. One's own free inner will, growing out of "instinctive, inherited qualities" and "fateful connec-

81. *Mein Kampf*, p. 167.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 490–491.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
85. May 10, 1933, at the Congress of the Labor Front.

tion," causes an awareness of one's obligation to serve his people first.[86] "Contrary to liberalism, the life and death of the individual—are as the falling leaves of autumn—not the end of the tree—not the end of a nation with the passing of one generation." The fate of the leaf is that it shall some day "fall and die away," but the "fate of the tree prevails," even after the loss of its leaves and branches.[87] Usadel does not continue his metaphor to tell us what happens when the tree dies.[88] In any case, man comes and goes but his people is eternal; that is, if it keeps itself racially pure and lives according to its own established laws. And the voluntary limitation of the individual in the service of the people is not a surrender of freedom but a "building stone" in the eternal life of the nation. In all types of organizations, it is not selfish interest but comradeship that holds everything together, because true comradeship includes personal sacrifice to produce dependability and security.[89]

Individuals differ, Usadel grants, and healthy competition results in improved performance, but the individual cannot be the perfect ideal—which is probably meant to imply that the state can, or at least can aspire to be—so that in addition to the steadying influence of comradeship some "restraint" is necessary. Personality steps into the background when unconditional obedience is demanded. The responsibility of leadership does not tolerate unreasonable commands; indeed, leaders are them-

86. Cf. Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 279, "The right of the individual to personal freedom gives way to duty to preserve the race."

87. Georg Usadel, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

88. Here, indeed, is a very vulnerable metaphor which might conveniently be extended to include several further considerations; for example, that the death of a single tree does not stop the forest from growing. The forest, as representing universal humanity, is a greater whole than the single tree, both with respect to productive qualities and extent of damage done in case of destruction.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 24. Cf. Robert Osswald: "Kameradschaft und Führertum," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1935), III, 161 ff. Osswald brings out the point that comradeship must be an "educational method" since the entire nation has to fulfill a task common to its every member. He also speaks of the "ethos" necessary for proper leadership and followship. In this connection see also Hans Heyse's article, "Über die Freiheit in Forschung und Lehre," *Hochschule und Ausland*, January, 1937. Heyse concludes that "genuine freedom is identical with responsibility," a responsibility which, above all things, includes the fostering of a genuine German history within "the true order and cultural community of other peoples," p. 26.

selves to a large extent also followers. This is the "polarity" of political education: on the one hand, sharp limitation; on the other, personal freedom.[90]

A sense of freedom must prevail in the schools to stimulate voluntary performance and accomplishment. A sense of freedom is the "best thing" people possess; "it must not be killed by laws, decrees and threats." But freedom must respond to the teachings of political experience in the leadership-followship principle, and the hard demands it must impose for its own existence.[91]

For more fundamental attitudes on individual freedom, Philipp Hördt may again be cited. A capable scholar this man, and a writer who preached the same gospel before 1933 as after, until his recent death. National Socialists (and others willing or curious) may profitably delve into his findings for solid argument in favor of their case. Hördt's phraseology is involved, but his theories are not elusive; he substantiates logically every postulate he makes. Observe this schoolteacher as he operates on individual freedom with the anesthesia of "folk essence."

The birth of man makes him a physical part of an organic whole and at the same time heir to the spiritual qualities of its culture and civilization. These have been established by "historical destiny" and "economic and political situation." The question "how different I could have been had I been born differently" can be only fruitless conjecture. The fact is and remains that "this is my family, in this place and at this time."[92] Consequently, man cannot of himself determine the course of his education, nor is education determined arbitrarily by any isolated, individual idea. Any thinking which ignores this reality "must not be surprised if reality ignores it" (verbal calisthenics typical of National Socialism). Thinking which is grounded in reality teaches us that in the development of the individual we must not separate either in thought or in outer fact elements which really exist side by side in interwoven unity. It is idle to imagine that education can be detached from existing circumstances or the effect of time and place, any more than can man himself. The Volk is the supraindividual whole in which the life of man finds its reality, and where matter and spirit combine

90. Usadel, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
92. Philipp Hördt, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

into an "existential unity." Without Volk the individual self, regardless of personal accomplishments or embellishments, is meaningless and impotent.[93] Physical life comes from physical life; spiritual from spiritual. This is the inexorable law of the universe.[94]

Bäumler's theory of activism also includes concepts of individual freedom. According to him, individuality must never be sacrificed, for individual personalities have always guided human history. Indeed, great historical events consist of a number of individual actions apparently bound up with the clairvoyant will power of individuals, i.e., individually great personalities. Hitler is not the leader of the German people today simply because he wanted to realize an *idea* of German unity, but because "he participated in and brought about a decision of the highest importance" during times of crisis and apprehension for the German people.[95] What Bäumler means is that Hitler put action to words and established a "new" reality for an "old" unreality. Hitler's heroic activity and individualism, however provoking of external malice and insult, must be recognized as models for the political education of the entire nation. It no longer suffices for the citizen to go about his duties in his own way and place; he must be "one with the Führer, participate in his will and the greatness of his mission, and enter into a new relationship with history and national destiny."[96] Putting a keen edge on Bäumler's case, one may say it is apparent that each individual citizen must *actively* mind the state's business as well as his own; he must be loyal and devoted to an "activist destiny," as a Volk member bound inseparably to the fate of his people.[97]

Individual freedom becomes, therefore, only a branch of the cherished concept of the whole and its parts. The slogan is remembered: "You cannot be a whole unless you are a member of the whole." The living organism depends upon mutually reacting cells, another way of saying that a nation to exist and as-

93. Cf. Fritz Söllheim, *Erziehung im neuen Staat*, Langensalza, 1934. "Individuality," says Söllheim, "can never be an end in itself; social personality must be the goal. . . . Man can become a personality only through the community," p. 42.

94. Hördt, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–32, 47, 51–52.

95. Bäumler, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 13–15.

sume its proper place in the world must be able to count on individual sacrifice for the total welfare, although by this is not meant annihilation. The question may be raised as to why the concept is limited to a single Volk or people, as the final and unique whole. National Socialism asserts, and rightly, that man in order to be a "healthy whole" and "harmonious being" must see his capacities coördinated, the resulting "whole" man then forming an integral part of the "whole" Volk. But there is little explanation as to why the process must stop there; why it should not be logically continued to include Volk as part of the "whole" world, with the same application of those desirable elements of sacrifice and subordination to this larger whole, as National Socialism demands for itself. The answer is, of course, well known. Such a process is not in the "nature of things." One hears that people are born members of a Volk, Volk being the highest category. But this only promotes further questions on several scores, for example: Why is man not born primarily a member of universal humanity, as the larger (if not greater) whole? Of if Volk as an individual world of its own may assert its "natural rights" by force, without regard for the universe, why cannot the individual man be born as a world unto himself to do the same thing without regard for his Volk? To extend the question, what logical or "natural" reason is there for humanity itself not to be the ultimate master force to control its constituent master nations?

The principle of inequality also involves several perplexing implications. It carries with it a general disdain of the masses, that "fabric of urges" and "vegetative being" that is "united in the pool of sensual life" (Spann); and yet there is a general desire to mark out these same masses for conditioning through racial propaganda. Such an apparent antithesis may well provoke the question: How is Volk with its "unsavory teeming" compatible with ideas of the "chosen people" of the world? Or are there various degrees of "unsavory teeming"? Set this concept against an education which aims at uniform training to produce type-forms (Bäumler), since "it is not individuals but types that divide humanity," and note the conflict. Now it is conceivable that before National Socialism the German masses were of Hitler's "inevitable" character,[98] and National Social-

98. *Mein Kampf*, pp. 44, 198.

ism is at present engaged in establishing uniformity and "racial identity," in Rosenberg's phrase, out of chaos. It is also possible that elements of uniformity and identity may be contained in a system of inequalities.[99] But what defies reason is an inequality arising out of the professed equality of each member of the race, especially when one hears persuasive talk of the "physical and spiritual resemblance of real *Volksgenossen*," or members of the folk.[100]

Aurel Kolnai is absolutely correct in observing that National Socialism is inclined to stress the anthropological inequality of men rather than man's individual differences from the point of view of moral, intellectual, or spiritual outlook and attainment. But this attitude serves only to strengthen the anomaly. It is difficult for the liberal thinker to understand how a uniform, common blood stream can produce a natural inequality among individuals who, propelled by its flow, can have only mutual and common aims and aspirations. But perhaps the mystical significance of the "common blood stream" destroys such argument, by including the germ of inequality among its constituent elements. On this basis the inequality of nations is also granted, even more readily, though hardly more comprehensively. But if this be the point at issue, then the present investigator must despairingly admit his impotence to rationalize a mystical essence that first of all denies rationalization ("truth is what you conceive it to be") and claims secondly to be understood only by those who are born in and of the "essence."

At any rate, enough authorities have been cited to show that the values of individual freedom have not been completely rejected by National Socialists. There is an ever-prominent awareness of the need for original thought and action, so that whatever measures are proposed for collective welfare, there is an attempt to avoid crushing private effort for community gain. There is also the realization, though indirectly expressed, that if man is allowed uncontrolled freedom it will inevitably result in encroachment upon the freedom of his fellow man. In other words, man loses freedom in the same measure as his

99. Cf. Professor Spann's "equality among unequals" theory whereby various layers of "spiritual" attainment are conceived as being the only elements out of which the real state system may be constructed. (Polanyi, *op. cit.*, p. 366.)

100. Cf. Rosenberg, *Mythus*, p. 448: "There is a mystical similarity between leaders and followers."

neighbor gains it; freedom being thus seen as something limited in quantity and extent.

There is little doubt that the "natural rights" of the individual, as conceived by liberalism, are completely denied in favor of "natural rights" of the racial community. The dualism of individual versus community no longer exists. For education this means that there is no longer any compromise between society and the individual's private needs and desires. The process is to be an ever-pressing integration of the child into the society to which he belongs; a collectivist concept, if you will, of educational purpose.

3. *Education for an Élite*

. . . this new nobility rising from the ranks of human disintegration. . . .

STEFAN GEORGE.

The best form of state is one which with the most natural certainty raises the best brains of the community to influence and leadership.

ADOLF HITLER.

The laws of nature demand that authority should be exercised from above downwards, and responsibility from below upwards.

HERMANN GOERING.

IMPLICIT in the new, almost religious concept of state is the idea of leadership, the élite[101] principle, whereby education prepares national political leadership by training a select group suited by nature and disposition for such a role. If it is the task of the party to act as guardian of state-power,[102] then it is also its duty to guarantee leadership for the state. Hitler says, "The leadership principle means primarily leadership education."[103]

The concept of an élite is not original with National Socialism, there having been several ideas of leadership contending for first place in previous German thought.[104] Among such ideas

101. "Élite," a French word, is derived from the Latin, *eligere*, "to choose." Those belonging to this group are the "elect," the "privileged," because they have proved themselves superior to their fellow men.

102. Hitler puts it more strongly than this, for in his speech at Nürnberg, May 1, 1934, he says: "The party commands the state."

103. Hitler, *ibid.*

104. Walter M. Kotschnig, "Educating the Elite in Europe," *The Journal of Educational Sociology* (October, 1939), p. 72.

were the army and nobility as strongholds of birth and rank, and the German humanist movement in education, sponsored by Herder, Kant, and Humboldt who stressed the need for all-round culture based on knowledge of the classics. But the disastrous number of unemployed university graduates after the World War caused people to turn away from intellectual attainment as a measure of success. Largely in answer to this situation, National Socialism sponsored more or less a reversal of leadership values, proposing the soldierly type of man devoted body and soul to Germany's national resurgence as the model to be followed. The result has been a specific training to that end.

In the National Socialist state the élite principle goes farther than mere training for political leadership. It is based on the theory that a chosen group arises spontaneously through the process of natural selection. Every profession chooses its membership according to talent. In Hitler's words, "What we call a choice of career is only the selection which the career itself makes, by attracting towards itself precisely those individuals who have aptitude for the discharge of its functions."[105]

The ultimate political aim is, of course, to furnish future national and state administrations exclusively with National Socialists. This means that the movement, or the party, becomes the perpetual basis of existence for the Reich. The process calls, as Hitler states, for no compromise with philosophic beliefs and principles, for "National Socialism must remain sound and intact." The justice both of its concepts and practical policy must be asserted under all circumstances.

The classic work of Ernst Krieck is his book on *National Political Education*,[106] a monument of obscurity and perplexing thought. Here Krieck brings out National Socialist ideals in the training of an élite, and shows it to be a military group who will be the real bearers of the state.[107] This ruling élite, to use his words, "will be controlled with rigorous discipline,—trained to honor, willing to fight, loyal, ready for service and sacrifice, devoting themselves to the whole and rendered conscious of the

105. Speech on "Nationhood," Nürnberg, May 1, 1935.

106. Ernst Krieck, *Nationalpolitische Erziehung* (Armanen Verlag, Leipzig, 1938, 22d ed.).

107. Cf. Plato's "guardians of the republic" and Hitler's "caretakers of the state."

values of national, political and military life." Subordination and obedience, courage and bravery, straightforwardness, truth, honesty—these are the "qualities and values which constitute the common and commanding order of the state as well as the personality of the individual."[108]

The élite group is not only a future political organ of the state but also the "last word" in training and accomplishment according to race-folk aspirations. Race and folk values—in the final analysis really soldierly-political values—will determine the training and formation of this "representative section of humanity." The élite group will be the pinnacle of attainment resulting from the theories that determine National Socialist education. Its members will be living models of race-folk-political perfection.[109]

But Krieck seconds Hitler in the view that very few people are born for leadership; nor do leaders assume this destiny purely as the result of their own "inner drives." The way must be shown, the ground prepared, and the process determined by a guiding authority,[110] for it is characteristic of the German people that it shall produce leaders and followers out of every rank of life.[111]

Dr. Rosenberg's Nordic religion requires an élite as the product of Nordic heroism. This "new nobility" will be created out of those men who show ability and readiness to fight in the "front line" for the new Germany. It will be a nobility descended from soldiers and peasants, "about 80 per cent necessarily having the physical appearance of the Nordic type," the rest justifying the responsibility lodged with them because they are "of hereditary Nordic substance as has been proved by actual deeds."[112] Rosenberg would therefore have little to do with "skull measuring" to determine values in men.[113] In his thought, men of the German élite must *ipso facto* be Nordic, attesting to this quality by deed if not by looks. The fact that they must be of soldier-peasant strain goes without saying, for "these groups are most likely to have healthy children."[114]

Honor is the *Mythus* or legendary concept which is to gov-

108. Krieck, *Nationalpolitische Erziehung*, pp. 83–84.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
112. *Mythus*, p. 596.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*

ern the training of the élite.[115] Honor is the "good" which will preserve the beauties of race, determining character and heroism in social and political life—national honor over and above personal honor if the choice must come.[116] National Socialism will therefore produce not only a political ideal but also the ideal of Nordic beauty and perfection, a type which will have such an inborn organic sense of values that a mystical likeness will emerge among members of the type. "Look at the faces of the soldiers on a war memorial," commands Rosenberg once again, "nearly all of them have a sort of mystical resemblance to each other."[117]

Examples of practical experiment in the production of a future élite appear in the Adolf Hitler Schools and the National-political Training Institutes (*Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalt*), the NPEA or "Napoli" schools, as they are popularly known. The selection of candidates for these schools has "nothing to do with social or financial status," for once enrolled the boy becomes a ward of the state.[118] A constant elimination based on rigid requirements of character attainment and physical prowess, with all their political connotations, leaves a residue of the "most able and the most qualified" to defend and preserve National Socialism.

Concerning the Napoli schools Reichsminister Rust says:

115. *Ibid.*, p. 522.

116. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

117. *Ibid.*, p. 448.

118. "Each district [*Ortsgruppe*] shall have its Adolf Hitler School, this institution being the first stage in the training for a future Führer career. It is planned to erect thirty-two schools, of which seventeen are now being built. The schools will train boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen. They will be selected from the mass of the people without regard for social position, financial status, etc. Each district makes its own appointments. These young aspirants are tested and again selected by the district authorities, to be ready to pass a final examination featuring perfect health and good physical condition. Not even the slightest health deficiency will be tolerated. Six hundred scholars for each school, making about four thousand altogether, will be trained for coming Führers. Their education is free of charge, the party assuming the main costs of living, i.e., clothes, uniforms, books, as well as pocket money. The course of instruction has been worked out by *Reichsleiter* Rosenberg together with the *Reichsorganisationsleiter* and *Reichsjugendführer*. There are no certificates at the end of the course, no testimonials and no examinations. The scholar either maintains a high calibre of character and mental achievement throughout his career or leaves the school altogether. The Adolf Hitler scholar is also obliged to join the Hitler Youth." *Frankfurter Zeitung*, November 24, 1937. The decree of January 12, 1937, established the *Adolf-Hitler-Schule;* see Gräfe, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

"We have made these schools experimental institutions for our ideas. We practice in these boarding schools a new national, social and commercial education. We further character education by severe demands on physical achievement, without renouncing the general training of the intellectual side."[119]

In the Adolf Hitler School the National Socialist movement has created its own educational system, which has not been transferred to state authorities but is retained under party control and administration. This is the more exclusive school of the two. After passing all the tests of the Hitler Youth Organization, including proof of marked adaptability for leadership, the boy enters the school at the age of twelve, to stay there six years at the expense of the party. Completion of the Adolf Hitler School finds the boy in the same position as any secondary school-graduate[120] except that after a period of seven years, that is, when he is twenty-five, he may if married and a member of the party apply for admission to the *Ordensburg*, or "Castle of an Order," a name given by Dr. Ley, leader of the Labor Front.[121] The "Castles," when the place gets under way, will take approximately one fourth of the Adolf Hitler scholars for four more years of leadership training, so that "in seventeen years altogether [recently revised to fifteen] the effect of this wonderful education may be noticed among the people."[122]

Theoretically, the élite principle is a natural outcome of the National Socialist belief in the inequality of man. The rule of the majority gives place to the rule of personality, or even of the type, as explained by Rosenberg and Bäumler. It is a prin-

119. *Internationale Zeitschrift*, III (1937), has a number of essays on the NPEA. Rust's remarks are taken from the *Report of the Geneva Conference*, July, 1935, given in *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1935), IV, 297.

120. "At the end of this education, the young man must accept an ordinary job. The University is also open to him as well as to any other scholar who has passed the final examination of a secondary school. The Labor and Military Service have to be passed." Dr. Ley in *Frankfurter Zeitung*, November 24, 1937.

121. *Ibid.*

122. "The thousand most able and best qualified (out of four thousand original Adolf Hitler scholars) will be selected as the élite of the National Socialist *Ordensburgen*. . . . The educational program of the four existing castles lasts four years and consists of character, physical, and mental training. . . . In five years' time the building of these castles will be accomplished." *Ibid.* At the age of twenty-nine a further selection is contemplated to produce *Junkers*, leaders of leaders.

ciple of differentiation involving a "chosen few" which, as Fülöp-Miller has said, "hierarchically establishes itself around a Leader."[123] It is also a logical response to the aristocratic principle of nature, which fosters the eternal privilege of energy and strength. Finally, it rests on the belief that inequality is endowed with creative values which, if man carefully heeds, will establish him in his proper position in society's new pyramid. Although the creed of National Socialism tolerates no class distinction, it does tolerate a caste, and this caste is composed of a nationalistic élite; a National Socialist version of the dream of that romantic poet, Stefan George, who once prophesied (*Stern des Bundes*):

> And from the darkened throng arise
> Rare scions of a special rank,
> And by the glow in their clear eyes
> You know the members of the breed.

4. *Kultur and the Arts*

The world will come to Germany and convince itself that we have become the pillar of European culture and civilization.

ADOLF HITLER (1938).

Art is not just for the upper ten thousand; it must belong to all the people.

JOSEPH GOEBBELS (1939).

Each work of art manifests the qualities of the soul. The substance of art, as well as its form, can be understood therefore only on the basis of different souls of race.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, *Mythus*.

Only that Volk rises and progresses toward an honorable future that is conscious of its own mission to fulfill as best it can its allotted tasks in the development of world culture.

PETER RAABE, president of the *Reichmusikkammer*.

KULTUR is an elusive term. No author dares enter any sort of discussion of its implications without attempting some definition of it.[124] Yet try as he may he is never sufficiently compre-

123. René Fülöp-Miller, *Führer, Schwärmer und Rebellen*, Munich, 1934. Last chapter: "Amor Fati."

124. Werner Jaeger (*Platos Stellung im Aufbau der Griechischen Bildung*, Gruyter, Berlin, 1928) in typical style defines Kultur as a "collective, existen-

hensive in the eyes of his critics.[125] The German word Kultur is, to begin with, not synonymous with "culture" as used in the English-speaking world. There is, in fact, even some question as to how much British culture has in common with American culture. But the student of National Socialist Kultur need have no hesitation in formulating an ultimate definition, for it is typical of present-day German decisiveness to have this term well categorized, so as to be readily understood. Indeed, Alfred Bäumler has obligingly offered an authoritative definition of what Kultur is to National Socialists, and how it is to be applied to modern educational theory. Perhaps his exposition can be condensed for present discussion.

Referring at the outset to the liberal or democratic conception, Bäumler finds that Kultur exists in such a system only where people have become used to "consuming and using certain goods."[126] A certain manner of living, eating, dressing and other factors in daily existence distinguish the "cultured" person from the "uncultured." Though this criterion involves the possession of certain values, and the capacity to enjoy and use them, the result is that the "less refined" are satisfied with material values, while the "more refined" value spiritual things such as books, music, and painting. To the National Socialist, this "having culture" or "being cultured" has fateful consequences. With the increase in production and variety of goods consumed, desires grow more extensive, but man does not necessarily grow with his desires. Instead of becoming greater, stronger, and more courageous, he is apt to become smaller, weaker, and more cautious. Whether he partakes of the material or spiritual things of life is really beside the point. The fact is that he re-

tial form of folk unity, or of historically developing folk-groups from early primitive days." As such, "Kultur is a descriptive conception based on natural-anthropological foundations" but influenced by morphological differences which "prevent it from entertaining any presuppositions as to definite, original, unified form" (p. 7). Jaeger refers to Oswald Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes* in defense of this. (Professor Jaeger is an interpreter of Greek culture with especial reference to neo-Germanism. See his *Paideia,* Berlin, 1934, which speaks of education as the plastic formation of a "type." Bäumler owes much to Jaeger.)

125. Wickham Steed says: "For a clear and comprehensive definition of *Kultur* I have searched German literature in vain, and have as vainly applied to German friends." Kolnai, *War against the West,* p. 6.

126. Bäumler, "Kultur und Volk," *Politik und Erziehung,* p. 123.

ceives, experiences, and consumes, whereas he should in a genuine Kultur *be* something, *create* something, and *do* something.

In the center of every real Kultur stands the *active* human being.[127] It is not abundance of goods or extensiveness of comforts that define Kultur; it is rather the circumstance and surroundings in which people grow up, their relationship to each other, how much strength and courage they have to take hold of their fate and live it. The liberal conception of culture fails because it depends on goods and not on human existence.[128]

"*Kultur* exists only where life has gained a decisive, unified and lasting form." National Socialism considers this the original and pure conception of Kultur.[129] It teaches that all cultures are founded on an original order of things which must not be arbitrarily tampered with. The mere accumulation of treasures, inventions, arts, and sciences makes civilization the master of man, but National Socialism breaks through all this to get at the natural and lasting relations of men among men, men with women, youth with age, young people among themselves.[130] The "liberalistic culture," which "ends" with elaborate concert halls, libraries, and museums for human enrichment, is a culture for an educated minority. The majority become inactive in a liberal culture; they hardly participate in any productive way; they merely experience.[131]

But there is another kind of culture, the National Socialist Kultur, to be found in the life roots of the people: in the way married people live with each other, their aspirations, their family, the mutual existence of families. What does youth do between the ages of twelve to eighteen? What of the schools? Why are certain holidays and festivals celebrated? In what forms of work do the people engage?[132] All these matters are basic in the philosophy of Kultur which, in the National Socialist state, considers the decisive thing to be the individual man and his relationship to his Volk. It is a return from things to forces. There are no values independent of man. There are no values which are not conditioned by forces within the race and

127. This is, of course, but a part of Bäumler's activism, referred to earlier in the chapter.

128. Bäumler, *op. cit.*, pp. 123–124.

129. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

130. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

131. *Ibid.*

132. *Ibid.*

the people. This collective force of being is the foundation and sum total of the National Socialist Kultur philosophy; where it exists, there is also the idea toward which it strives, the goal of its drive.[133]

Educational philosophy has been bound up with the liberal conception of culture. The "superficial" type of intellectual education, which emphasized knowledge per se, was recognized and attacked earlier even by bourgeois pedagogy, but the result was only a substitution of "irrationalism" for "intellectualism," "experience" for "theoretical knowledge," "aestheticism" for "philology." These changes did not accomplish the purpose of the new education because the "passivity of man" was inherent in the bourgeois realm of values. National Socialism has overcome "intellectualism" because it does not recognize "absolute values," it does not recognize values "independent of man." And it creates activity where passiveness was before.[134]

Kultur is thus determined by forces. According to Bäumler, force does not signify "brute force" or "ruthlessness"; it does not bear merely a physical connotation. But it is that which, certainly not ready-made, is strong and lasting, creative and healing, the source and root of everything.[135] It represents and also determines the mysterious combination of body and soul, the sensuous and the spiritual, the physical and the psychic.[136] It is sacred and inviolable, as indestructible as the laws of nature of which it is a part. The call, then, wholly in accordance with nature's laws, is in the words of Jahn, "Back to the community!"[137] For in the people there is a deep love of community, a term which here includes an almost metaphysical sense of communion in its "being and existence, in its strength of propagation, thinking, feeling, love and hatred, joy and sadness, hope and faith."[138]

But a Volk culture cannot go beyond Volk strength, for there is no sterner order than the order of forces. To cultivate strength in man and thus further these forces is a part of the physical education embodied in Kultur. "Man is not born as an intellectual being, but as an integration of strength" which will

133. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
134. *Ibid.*, pp. 126–127. Wilhelm and Gräfe, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–8, 10.
135. Bäumler, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
136. *Ibid.*, pp. 127–128.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
138. *Ibid.*

attain perfection only through community discipline and example.[139]

Bäumler's discourse then enters upon ground already trod, advocating magnificent stadia for "battles of sport," and as gathering places for the community, with "corners reserved for gay conversation and singing." Finally, the Berlin professor's practical Kultur employs community festivals to revive public morale and to give symbols for everyday life and future behavior. Selection of high public festivals shows the political will more clearly than any constitution, for festivals produce joy in living, and "joy creates and fosters strength" (Jahn).[140]

The Kultur leader par excellence has been Alfred Rosenberg, though in recent years Joseph Goebbels as Minister of Propaganda has also presided over the Reich Chamber of Culture. Both men sponsor a sort of nationalistic, racial Kultur native only to Germans. Kultur can never be international; art and science never universal. Kultur with its arts and sciences is also nonexistent as something in itself. It is a special creation of a special race. But more than this, it can be understood only by those who are of the same race and blood.[141] Every work of art manifests qualities of the soul; "its substance therefore, as well as its form, can be understood only on the basis of different racial souls."[142] Nordic ideals of art are focused on beauty, but there is concentration not only on the body but on the soul. "The one means physical harmony, the other is based on inner laws. The one produces an objective, the other, a personal style."[143] To Rosenberg art becomes a religion and a "means for conquering the world." A portrait of Rembrandt, a fugue of Bach, the Eroica Symphony, the Chorus Mysticus, a Gothic cathedral are all expressions of the soul, the active soul, as it radiates a powerful will "forcing its way through all material substance" capable of receiving its impress.[144] Simply expressed, perhaps too sharply to the point, Kultur remains for

139. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

140. *Ibid.*, pp. 136–137. (This is, of course, part of the philosophy behind the *"Kraft durch Freude"* movement.)

141. *Mythus*, p. 120.

142. *Ibid.*, p. 279. Rosenberg defends this idea by citing the fact that science centered in Europe because European life and gifts were naturally inclined toward scientific matters. (Speech at the University of Halle, February 16, 1938.)

143. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

144. *Ibid.*, pp. 348, 443.

Rosenberg but an expression of the racial soul, in its desire to propagate its peculiarities throughout the rest of the world.

Dr. Goebbels' Kultur has much more popular appeal than that of Rosenberg. All works of art and music are useless to Goebbels' mind if they are not understood by the common people. Since the taxpayers support subsidies for art and artistic achievement, they must get some return of enjoyment from their investment.[145] But lest Goebbels be unjustly accused of sponsoring a popular, mercenary art he must be quoted as assuring gifted people that National Socialism has no desire to exploit genius, but on the contrary to remove all obstacles in the way of their artistic potentialities. Yet art must fill "certain prerequisites" by confining itself to the real living things of life, above all to natural beauty and the harmony "ever vibrant in Volk." Art has neither the strength nor the authority to govern itself. An integral part of national life, it must be subject not only to cultural but also political aims and control. Art is to Goebbels a synonym for beauty and honor; it must be "instilled into the people's perspective." Individual creative ability is thus limited by two factors: the artist's obligation to the cultural welfare of the nation, and the process of "natural elimination" determined by the Reich Chamber of Culture.[146]

The Reich Chamber of Culture is an agency established to exert political influence on the cultural activity of the nation. The demand for "totality" made upon all spheres of community life affects cultural achievement whether in literature, music, or art. The aim of the Chamber is to regulate but not create art.[147] All professional groups in intellectual life, or in the so-called

145. Speech at the Congress of German Art, Munich, July 15, 1939. Reported in *Völkischer Beobachter,* same date. See also Speech, May 8, 1933, Berlin, quoted in *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat,* pp. 140–141.

146. *Ibid.*

147. Joseph Goebbels, Speech at the opening of the Chamber, October, 1933; and Speech, May 1, 1938, before the Chamber: "The state itself can neither create art nor confine its intellectual laws of growth and possibilities of development." According to Ferdinand Weinhandl (University of Kiel), the goal of cultural education is not to guide the individual from the "lowlands of natural impulses to the heights of culture," but to "extend the powers originally present in him" by broadening the path toward the community as the "natural arrangement of things." "Natur und Erziehung," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1935), IV, 118–124. Cf. also Alfred Happ, "Cultural Work in Germany of Today," *Germany and You,* VII (No. 12), 301. Here Happ combats any idea that the Chamber of Culture is a "General Staff of Cultural Rearmament."

politico-cultural sphere, are organized in the Chamber of Culture,[148] but its scope is defined in the statute as follows:

It is the business of the state to combat injurious influences and encourage those that are valuable, and are actuated by a sense of responsibility for the well-being of the national community. In this sense creative effort is entirely personal and unrestricted. It is necessary, however, in order to implement a policy of German culture, that all creative forces in all spheres be assembled under Reich leadership toward a uniform molding of the will. This is being done by means of vocational organization.[149]

Stimulated by prizes and competitions and sponsored by the Chamber along with the German Labor Front, apparently to preserve the social aspect of art, there has developed an artistic achievement which is in the National Socialist sense "truly German."[150]

National Socialism is quick to defend its stand on art, as it affects genius. The culture of a nation begins in the peasant's home "with carved chests," and "soars to great cultural events experienced by the community." For genius itself there is no need to establish an official center; National Socialism recognizes this. Genius is indeed "a plant so rare" that it defies forced cultivation. Moreover, nature has endowed this plant with strength to burst any obstacle in its path, "even if life itself has to be sacrificed." Yet genius needs guidance; it must not be left to starvation and exploitation, as too often in history. "And from every land where genuine national consciousness exists there will run threads of understanding" for the proper spiritual and intellectual guidance, influencing genius "to create

148. The Chamber is composed of seven subchambers; those concerned with literature, the press, radio, theater, music, art, and the screen, and encompasses therefore in its compulsory membership everyone having to do with things cultural.

149. Obtainable from the House of the Press, Munich.

150. On January 30, 1937, the German National Prize for Art and Science was instituted and made public by a decree issued by Adolf Hitler. This decree is worded as follows: "In order to prevent any shameful occurrences in the future, I proclaim on the present day the endowment of a German National Prize for Art and Science. This National Prize is to be annually awarded to three meritorious Germans who will each receive RM 100,000. . . . The acceptance of the Nobel Prize is hereby prohibited henceforward to Germans." (Incidentally, the first to receive this prize was Alfred Rosenberg.)

honestly, independently," and out of respect for national and historical achievement. The genius who in this respect is "sound" remains forever free.[151]

The Reich Chamber of Culture thus becomes an agency for bringing about homogeneity of cultural spirit, whether in the broader sense of national civilization, thought, and action, or in the narrower sense of arts and sciences. More sharply, it is a functioning example of the admitted inhibition of anything creative which does not spring from "natural roots" or is deleterious to Volk welfare.

Any deductions regarding National Socialist Kultur must be based on a keen awareness of its opposition to liberalism. In fact, antiliberalism in present-day theory is looked upon as the only method of national salvation, especially in view of the disaster to Western civilization wrought by a policy of liberal *laissez faire*. Kultur is socialistic, but hardly materialistic in the sense of Marxist socialism. It is socialistic principally because it is anti-individualistic. It is founded, as one might expect, on a denial of any dualism or pluralism as between the state and social groups. Kultur is of the state, but originally and fundamentally it is of the Volk. It is man-made. Kultur cannot be thrust upon a nation in an effort to reconcile it with any standard conceived by sponsors of a world culture. The culture of old *Germania* is the only historical root to be accepted as reliable.[152]

While defined as the sum total of a living civilization, Kultur is at the same time, and even more profoundly, a body of generations of national folk achievement. In such a course of achievement, individual effort and accomplishment are but a transient contribution. Yet any conclusion that this implies the

151. Happ, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–302. Dr. Happ continues his definition of the purpose of the *Kulturkammer* as follows: "Thus it is seen on closer examination that the Chamber of Culture in Germany stands for an authoritative preservation of the rights and a clear definition of the obligations of all engaged in cultural creative work. It is not merely the representative of a particular class in a socialistic or sociological sense, but it expects in return for its guidance and efforts, the greatest cultural achievement possible, the work of the creative artist. Neither does the Chamber of Culture work for reward or for self-glorification, but purely and simply for the sake of the German nation, so that in time every worker throughout the length and breadth of the land will be convinced of the supreme values of life" (p. 304).

152. *Erlass des Kulturministeriums*, March 17, 1933. (*Zentralblatt für die Gesamte Unterrichtsverwaltung in Preussen*, p. 87.)

self-sacrifice of individual effort to the point of annihilation is wholly unjustified. It is not a question of "giving up" personal creative achievement because the community denies this right. It is fairer to say, if one is to interpret National Socialist attitude correctly, that all restraint is self-restraint. Restriction is not from "without" but from "within," the idea being that arts and sciences in any case best achieve their natural beauty or perfection when voluntarily arising from, and guided by, the mysterious predetermining qualities of the racial blood stream present in every individual. In this way the individual feels himself duty bound to disregard as unnatural any conflict of genius with community genius, the assumption being that man should live his life and perform his works in the community of which he is by blood a member. The whole program of Kultur with its offshoot of educational policy becomes, therefore, one of "ever-pressing integration" of the child or the adult "into the community from which he comes, by which he is conditioned," and to which he owes his physical and spiritual existence.[153]

Finally, National Socialist Kultur is German-made and is fashioned, coördinated, and integrated according to the dictates of "natural" national surroundings and collective destiny. It is thus purposely nationalistic, expressing the racial soul, and involving special attitudes toward such values as freedom, honor, courage, sacrifice, heroism, and beauty over against love, pity, asceticism, individual primacy, and the criteria of world culture. Kultur is meaningful and dominant, Hitler says, only when projected against its own primitive racial elements, a nation's center of cultural happiness being therefore within itself. (Can this be the symbolism of the swastika, whose limbs circle round its center?) But although Kultur is molded by directed and centering forces, its effect, especially in the minds of archnationalists of the expansionist type, may very well become centrifugal, and thus strongly determine world culture.

5. *Administrative Principles*

The greater the spiritual and generally desired unanimity there is, the less it can be in the interest of the Reich in the future to do violence to the cultural and economic life in the individual states. . . . If one seri-

153. Landé, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

ously wished to take up and carry on the struggle for the preservation of the state, only a ruthless and determined centralization would be able to succeed.

ADOLF HITLER.

AN examination of National Socialist state organization reveals an elaborate system of regional leaders and subleaders in control of highly departmentalized branches of civilization, or "ministries," involving such fields as religion, language, economics, law, society, culture, and propaganda. A given idea, coming from "above" or indirectly from "below," resolves itself into an express command from a central authority, in turn to be executed by the proper leaders down to the very "cells" of National Socialist life. In line with this procedure, educators themselves are in large measure leaders and subleaders in their own special fields, empowered by the state with executive and advisory license to foster its aims through a governmental system which is, from an outward point of view, the perfection of deputized efficiency. Although the implications of this process are not a part of this inquiry, it will be in order to comment briefly on the administration of the educational system in the light of the changes which have been effected since 1933. In doing so, our aim will be more interpretive than technical.

It is important to note first of all that until 1934 Germany had never had a national ministry of education, control being left to the various state ministries of church affairs and education, or departments of education in the state ministries of the interior. Until 1934 Bernhard Rust was minister only for Prussian education; it was not until that year that he acquired his present title of Reichsminister of Education, an office representing the fusion of several departments to form the Reich and Prussian Ministry for Science, Education and Folk-Training.[154]

154. *Reichs- und Preussisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung.* According to John W. Taylor (*Internationale Zeitschrift* [1936], IV, 258), the new organization became effective January 1, 1935, with eight departments: (1) Central Office (administrative, legislative, and foreign matters); (2) Minister's Office; (3) Office for Science (with University and research division); (4) Office for Education (schools, including vocational and training of social workers); (5) Office for Adult Education and Popular Training (Academy of Art, people's colleges, public libraries, museums and castles, care of monuments, nature care, Academy of Music, Fine Arts, literature and theater, film and radio); (6) Office for Physical Education (with division for youth welfare); (7) Department for Rural Year; and the (8) Department for Church affairs. The affairs of the former Prussian Ministry of Public

Since 1934 the control of education has been more and more centralized in the ministry at Berlin, so that virtually every school, formal or informal, is now subject to centralized jurisdiction.[155] It would serve little purpose to follow the various decrees regarding school programs and administration in the course of their experimental development. The situation today is much more important.

Under recent decrees the principal is now wholly responsible to the school administrative authorities for the proper functioning of his school. (This in contrast to former procedures which emphasized faculty coöperation in administrative matters and the "elective principal" idea.) It is the principal's duty as a leader and administrator to see to it that the regulations of the central ministry are carried out. Staff meetings are called at his pleasure and regarded as chiefly advisory in character.[156]

Welfare which pertained to youth welfare have been handled by the Ministry of Education since December, 1932. The scope of its work in this area has been considerably reduced since the establishment of the Reich Youth Leadership (*Reichsjugendführung*) in 1933.

155. See various decrees of 1934 obtainable from the Ministry, especially those promulgated during July and August, 1934.

156. Cf. John W. Taylor in *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1936), IV, 326–327. Taylor aptly remarks that the idea of electing the principal made him the "first among his equals."

Law of April 3, 1934. Some points of this law are as follows:

The Principal. The principal represents the school in all internal and external matters and is responsible to the school administrative authorities for the smooth functioning of the whole school in the spirit of the National Socialist conception of state.

The principal is the superior officer of the teachers. They obey his regulations. Any correspondence (including complaints of teachers against the rulings of the principal) goes through the hands of the principal to the higher school authorities.

The principal alone is the deciding person in all matters of school administration and coöperation of the teaching body.

The principal may call staff meetings as often as he deems necessary—usually once a month—he makes the programs for these meetings and is required to indicate the topics at least two days in advance. The staff meetings shall serve to guarantee the smooth functioning of the school by discussions of common problems. Such meetings are regarded as advisory in function to the principal. The public is not invited.

The principal is required to satisfy himself through classroom visits that the work of his teachers is satisfactory and according to regulations.

The principal may commission the teachers with special tasks providing they lie within the scope of the official regulations.

The principal has not the right to take disciplinary action against his teachers but must call in the higher authorities.

Along with these rights and duties the principal is expected to set an exam-

Members of the staff therefore become directly responsible to the principal, and their coöperation must be wholehearted and unquestioning.[157] Taylor rightly observes that as a result the teacher is completely under the control of the principal, teacher freedom being ruled in accordance with the aims officially set for the school. The leadership principle thus becomes fully expressed in school administration.[158]

What is true of school principals is true also of university presidents. The rector is now responsible to the central government alone,[159] and is known as the "Führer of the university." He is no longer elected by the faculty, but is appointed by the Minister of Education, to whom he is directly responsible. Vice rectors and deans are also appointed by the Minister upon the suggestion of the rector. In each university, the director (*Leiter*) of the teaching personnel in addition to being appointed by the Minister must be approved not only by the rector but also by the National Socialist League of Teachers of Higher Learning (*Nationalsozialistischer Dozentenbund*), an organization noted for its close coöperation with the authorities in Berlin.

The same precautions are taken as regards the Director of the Student Bodies. He receives his investiture by the Minister of Education only after the sanction of the rector and the district head of the National Socialist League of Students.[160] The

ple of loyalty and readiness to joyful sacrifice for his work with the teachers and pupils in accordance with the principles of the National Socialist Weltanschauung.

157. *Ibid.*: "Each teacher is personally responsible for his work. He must show himself worthy of the high task entrusted to him as an educator and as a builder of the German future. His behavior both in and out of school must indicate his consciousness of this. He has the freedom of work in the school community accorded him as a youth leader within the bounds of the state regulations. He is required to report to the principal concerning his activities whenever requested. It is his duty to aid the principal in all problems and tasks of the schoolwork. Promotion of pupils may take place only with the consent of the principal, the classroom teacher, and the other teachers of the pupil."

158. *Op. cit.*, p. 328.

159. See discussion under "Irrationalism and the University." A useful book on methods of establishing university administration in accordance with demands of the new Germany is Johann Wilhelm Mannhardt's *Hochschulrevolution*, Hamburg, 1933.

160. (*Nationalsozialistischer Studentenbund.*) Reichsminister Frick explains the aims of this group as follows: "The task consists of doing away with the danger of any separation of the student from the state. It should take the student who lives only for his studies, who has no other contacts than those of his fel-

party intervenes again in the composition of the University Council or Senate which assists the rector, so that as Tessan curtly observes, "there is always the official 'eye' to see and to control everything in the high spheres of the professorate."[161]

The complete government control over university administration is rationalized in terms of "unity" and "strength," the university becoming just another representative of the state. The standardizing of university systems in accordance with this concept is definitely on the increase, so that a student may matriculate at one university but spend much of his time elsewhere. (This is the former system enlarged upon.) Students in attendance at universities have been reduced in number to limited enrollments fixed by law.[162]

Even in the realm of parent-teacher organizations (*Schulgemeinde*) the Ministry of Education finds itself an active

low students, should draw him from his narrow classroom outlook, and place him in a situation where he may enjoy the fruits of the simultaneous union of the university, the people and the Reich. It should take him from the abstract world of concepts and scientific reflection and bring him into contact with the practical world, which, after all, will concern him most in his future profession. It should constantly point out to him that the school or the university is not a cloistered world sufficient in itself, and that he can render himself fit for future activity among people only by sharing in all the breadth and depth of the German people during his student life." Found in François Tessan, *Voici Adolf Hitler* (Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1936, p. 153—translated from the French).

161. *Ibid.*, p. 142. Bernhard Harms, *Universitäten, Professoren und Studenten in der Zeitenwende* (Jena, 1936), *passim.* Edward Y. Hartshorne, "The German Universities and the Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (reprinted by University of Chicago) (November, 1938), 200, 5.

162. *Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung, und Volksbildung,* official monthly of the Ministry of Education, Berlin, March, 1935. For the interest of the reader, we list the contingents that were definitely fixed in March, 1935, as follows:

University	*Students*
Berlin	5,600
Frankfurt	1,400
Cologne	2,300
Leipzig	3,100
Hamburg	1,600
Munich	5,000
Münster	2,500

In comparison with the figures of 1934, there was a reduction of about 30 per cent. These reductions, of course, do not apply to the provincial universities. The provision in this case is that the number of students coming from places other than the province in which the small university is situated is unlimited, but that only a certain number of students born and educated in these provinces may enroll.

sponsor as a result of the law of October 24, 1934. The purpose of the Schulgemeinde is, as would be expected, to unify in an advisory way the educational activities of the school, the home, and state youth. That the Schulgemeinde carries with it a great deal in the way of being an adult education project may be readily acknowledged, as well as the considerable power it is able to exert, under official leadership, for National Socialist welfare. There is no evidence that parental participation in schoolwork necessarily lowers the prestige of the teacher. Teacher authority over pupils is guaranteed both in and out of school, where the parent is not in immediate control. Teachers are youth leaders as well as classroom managers. The dignity and authority of their office demand strict obedience and respect from pupils, with no toleration of undue parental criticism. Actually, school discipline is a part of youth training, the teacher expecting to find immediate and ready support from all school authorities in the administration of disciplinary cases.[163]

The German school thus becomes a part of the system of national popular education, its task being to fashion youth to National Socialism along with the other educational institutions previously mentioned. Its guiding principles are standardization, coördination, and authoritarianism. Unity of purpose, aims, and administration has resulted in a program of intellectual training which is practically the same for the youth of the smallest hamlet to the youth of the metropolis, while the teacher finds himself just as well off, economically at least, wherever he teaches. Virtually all ideas and functions are official and emanate from the Department of Education in Berlin. There is almost complete federalization of all phases of the administration of schools, including type of instruction, type of school, curricula, salaries, examinations, and building programs. "Local option" is permitted only in matters of very minor importance.[164] This unified control of education is a great boon to the commentator, for a reasonably accurate view of this functional philosophy may be had from almost a single authoritative

163. Law of May 12, 1933, and subsequent decrees.

164. See decrees of September 18, 1933; November 6, 1933; and November 18, 1933.

source. The official publications of the Department of Education are very complete in their exposition of the philosophy and administration of the schools. It goes without saying that they are the final word.[165]

165. Though there is great temptation to discuss the deleterious effects of standardization, this part of the investigation must be content to let the National Socialists present their case.

CHAPTER IV

BACKGROUNDS

1. *National Idealism and Education*

We urge and challenge foreigners to try to find our metaphysical roots.

ADOLF HITLER.

There is not and will never be a limit or prospect of exhaustion of the two great spiritual sources whence flow our physical power: Frederick the Great and German idealism.

FRIEDRICH MEINECKE (1914).

IT has already been pointed out that National Socialism professes to be a "real revolution" in the entire life of Germany. National Socialism is not only a rebirth, but in Hitler's conception an entirely new civilization.[1] In spite of this, it has been the fashion with National Socialist theorists to point to great philosophers in the past who have had the "vision to know and to see" what special conditions would be instrumental in elevating Germany to her allotted position in the world. Such recourse to the past has been taken chiefly for the purpose of argument, but this approach has been just as popular, for different reasons, with scholars outside Germany. For example, Wickham Steed of London sees National Socialism as the embodiment of "Hegelian nonsense"; Professor Kandel of Columbia University calls it a "blend" of Fichte, Hegel, Treitschke, Nietzsche, Bernhardi, and "the megalomania of a group drunk with power"; Julien Benda, the French writer, hails Hitler as the Nietzschean superman; Aurel Kolnai of Hungary gives "Satanist Nietzsche" the credit for the highest contribution, with Stefan George a close second, "because his homosexuality" was "more *directly* influential." More recently, George Catlin shows a little more restraint in calling Fichtean thought "closely akin" to National Socialism.

But the roots of National Socialism are not so deeply sunk in nineteenth-century idealism as these writers would have us be-

1. Speech of January 30, 1934, before the Reichstag.

lieve. The compatibility of isolated elements of thought does not necessarily show harmony of the whole point of view. This applies equally to National Socialists who choose "suitable" documentation from the past and to those who, by appealing to similar sources, arrive at a complete antithesis. It will be the purpose of this chapter to project those bodies of thought which have been said to influence National Socialism the most against the more inclusive form of its own philosophy. The number of such comparisons must of course be limited, as well as the accompanying exposition and argument. But let it be perfectly clear that there is no intention to rationalize National Socialist theory from a historic basis.

The history of German educational philosophy and method is noteworthy for the fact that it has progressed for the most part along nationalistic lines. The nationalistic feeling of the German arises from the concept of the "German soul." A figurative expression, it is not easily defined. It includes socially *das deutsche Volk*, the German people: a people, not an empire, united in "spiritual devotion to common aims and bound together by ties of blood." This great quest for the German soul (*die deutsche Seele*) has been responsible for the strong influence of philosophy in education. Much German philosophy is directed toward those spiritual values which assume that man stands in the center of culture and is the starting point for social evolution. This was the form of idealism, for example, of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Pestalozzi. And this was the idealism behind educational development.

As a general branch of philosophy, idealism, when interpreted in the more strictly technical sense, advances theories which without essentially contradicting scientific fact are based on a more thorough study of those features of our experience which have not been, or perhaps cannot be, subjected to scientific treatment.[2] As contrasted with naturalism, idealism is more comprehensive, more attentive to the spiritual aspects of experience. Naturalism asks, "Why has the body a mind?" Idealism asks, "Why has the mind a body?" It asserts that in the elements which differentiate man from the rest of creation will be found the key to the riddle of the universe, and culture, moral-

2. Robert R. Rusk, *The Philosophical Bases of Education* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1929), pp. 28–29, 124.

ity, art, and religion are therefore the ultimate realities. "Idealism confers on human life a significance and dignity denied by scientific Naturalism."[3]

Along with this philosophy has come the principle of monism. Monism "seeks the harmonious unification of elements in a structural whole that balances all its parts in a relation to one another, [a process] which makes each more meaningful when connected with its fellows than when standing alone."[4] This line of thought, opposed to dualism or separatism, is closely allied to the *Gestalt* psychology of more recent times. Concrete expressions of it are to be seen in the *Einheitsschule* (the common school) and *Gesamtunterricht* (common instruction), both instances demonstrating a strong desire for the unity and integrity of the whole. The philosophers most influential in present German education have been those who emphasized the idea that *unity is the way of nature*, the condition for growth, and the guarantor of strength. National Socialist education, one may concede, shows very little influence from philosophies of a separatist trend. In fact, the literature of National Socialist educational philosophy is rich in criticism of dualists; it prefers to find the solution of life's problems through special interpretations of spiritual harmony, unity, and completeness.

Idealism in German philosophy, with its monistic leanings, reached its peak during the early part of the nineteenth century, largely as a parallel to the social and political upheaval of the French Revolution. Both Fichte and Heine called it a result of the Reformation. In German idealism, the "patience of generations raised its voice," and the only remedy was a new conception of individual and social morality, a new conception of the relation of state and individual.[5] What was the nature of these new conceptions?

Extreme want and the degradation of national pride under Napoleon operated, as one interpreter says, "to rally to new

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–31. Giovanni Gentile, one of the most outstanding contemporary Italian philosophers, has observed that educators today are predominantly realistic, naturalistic. In fact, many of the works of modern educators are biological in nature. However, as time goes on, the adequacy of the scientific position will include the spiritual side of man's nature and will pay due regard to art, morality, and religion.

4. Thomas Alexander and Beryl Parker, *The New Education in the Republic* (New York, 1929), p. 365.

5. Rusk, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

life the dispersed and inactive potentialities of the people" after the peace of Tilsit in 1807.[6] Out of the cosmopolitan thinking of previous generations there arose an intense feeling of patriotism, stimulated by German philosophers and poets. Where men like Schiller, Fichte, and Hegel in their earlier life had been international in their thinking, their thoughts now turned to national interests. Poets like Kleist, Uhland, Körner, and Arndt made passionate appeals for patriotism. Fichte went further. He drew his argument from the unique character of the German race as a primitive people (*Urvolk*) that had kept itself pure from Roman elements. He it was who set a spark to the idea that the German people had been put on the earth to express its own particular genius as "part of the Divine plan."

The cosmopolitan idealism of former years thus became a national idealism, which increased in intensity and proportion with the passing of years, and found expression in the nationalistic wars of 1866 and 1871 leading to the establishment of Germany as an empire in 1871.

With the present revival of national idealism in Germany, it is no wonder that Professor F. W. Foerster is able to say categorically that from Fichte to Hitler "the line runs straight."[7] It can be traced through Hegel, Schlegel, Lagarde, List, Lange, Nietzsche, Treitschke, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and a number of others, down to philosophers of the present day. Wickham Steed continues by observing, and rightly, that this philosophic thought did not begin with Fichte but more especially with one of his predecessors, Herder. Herder, he points out, claimed for the German people alone an initiation into the secrets of philosophical thought and the power of giving reality to those secrets. The whole meaning of the history of civilization would be lost without the triumph of the German people. This idea was taken up by Schiller in an unfinished poem on "German Greatness" written in 1801, in which he expresses his scorn of French and British brilliance as materialistic, and sees in Germany a moral dignity derived from her Kultur and the character of her people. The Germans alone, according to Schiller, comprehend sacred things; they alone communicate

6. Edward H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education since 1789* (New York, 1936), p. 125.

7. Quoted by Wickham Steed in Kolnai, *War against the West*, pp. 7–8.

with the spirit of the universe, "which has chosen [them] to work at the timeless task of Kultur."[8]

Since we are interested in a specific trend rather than the general development of German educational philosophy, the stress here will be on that trend as it becomes prominent in individual philosophic contributions. Germany has often been termed the breeding-ground of philosophers, whose depth of thought is very often unfathomable and contradictory. The thinkers who have contributed to national idealism are legion. Among them may be cited Luther, Herder, Schiller, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schlegel; certain elements in the thought of Froebel and Pestalozzi as interpreted by National Socialism; Wagner, Stein, Nietzsche, Treitschke, Humboldt, Lagarde, Chamberlain, Hartmann, Moeller van den Bruck, Bernhardi, Spranger, and many others, particularly since 1900; not to mention such poets and literati as Hutten, Arndt, Körner, Chamisso, Rückert, Uhland, George, Rilke, and Kolbenheyer. While such a list cannot be used to claim these men as direct founders of National Socialism, it does suggest that National Socialists have some right to refer to earlier sources for the inspiration of their ideology. Even the great Goethe may well be included, if only for the reason that he is so abundantly quoted.[9] But Goethe was not interested in systems. No matter what may be cited or inferred from his writings, the fact remains that he was interested in man as a human being. Goethe would always ask: What is becoming of the human being? What is happening to the morals of man? It is hard to conceive of him as sponsoring "superpersonality" and the "natural" prerogatives of might. But let us see.

A sample of the typical National Socialist attitude regarding the contribution of Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) may be procured from Ludwig Schemann. Schemann asserts: "Of all philosophers Herder was the first to hear the pulsation of the heart of race, the first to discover the conception of the racial soul which we today can understand only by racial founda-

8. *Ibid.*

9. Cf. Franz Koch, "Goethe als Erzieher," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1936), IV, 241 ff.

tions."[10] Other interpretations center around his theories on the sovereignty of nationalistic culture and the dependence of individual genius upon the racial community. But how far are such interpretations valid?

It is true that according to Herder poets, artists, thinkers, and leaders in the development of culture are not themselves originators, or necessarily creators, of that culture; they merely reflect the "folk-soul [*Volksseele*] of the people," for "true culture is indigenous in character."[11] It is also true that the culture envisaged by Herder did not originate from without but from within; an essentially Germanic culture, genetic, even, in its evaluation, and not depending on French or Roman culture. But this conception of culture did not essentially involve any idea that Germans had possibilities of higher development than other peoples because of their "natural" racial prowess. Primarily as a theologian, Herder advocated a warm approach to world culture. Germany's culture must "fit into" this world; it must not dominate it.[12]

Although the individual was said to depend on the community for the realization of his genius, this dependence was quite unlike present concepts of that relation. All institutions of

10. Ludwig Schemann, *Deutsche Klassiker über die Rassenfrage* (Munich, 1934), p. 14.

11. J. Mace Andress, *Johann Gottfried Herder as an Educator* (Clark University, Worcester, Mass., 1916), pp. 6–7, 291.

12. F. A. Adler, *Herder and Klopfstock* (New York, 1914), pp. 143–144. Robert Reinhold Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1931), pp. 263–266. Ergang quotes Herder very pointedly as follows: "Must one fatherland necessarily rise up against another, nay against every other fatherland which binds together its members with the same ties? Has not the earth room for us all? Does not one land lie quietly next to the other? Cabinets may cheat one another, and political machines may be moved against one another until one shatters the other. Not so do fatherlands move one against another; they lie quietly side by side and, like families, assist each other. Fatherlands against fatherlands in bloody battle is the worst barbarism of the human language. National glory is a deceiving seducer." A little later, and still very much to the point: "No nationality has been solely designated by God as the chosen people of the earth; above all we must seek the truth and cultivate the garden of the common good." Ergang says (p. 265) that Herder's message in brief was: "Each nationality has its peculiar duty to perform for the common good of mankind, and its special contributions to make to the common fund of civilization. Let us, therefore, be German, not because the German is superior to all other nationalities, but because we are Germans and cannot well be anything else, and because we can contribute to humanity at large only by being German."

national civilization, including state, church, and schools represented in Herder's reasoning not traditional values in themselves, but necessary means for the fulfillment of a "divine destiny," which consisted of helping the individual realize "his highest and best self." Herder was always mindful of the individual and "self-realization" in his views of the goal of life.[13] The most natural state, he said, was a social organization whose divine purpose was "to further that in every individual for which nature intended him."[14] As a complement to this, he strongly opposed compulsory military service, and all the "claims to glory" of success in arms.[15]

Moreover, Herder's race pedagogy had little to do with race supremacy. Rather it was based on the idea that a people should build upon the culture peculiar to itself. In reality Herder's racial philosophy was but a cogent corollary to his broader nationalistic aspirations. His promotion of national unity was

13. Andress, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Andress calls Herder's educational theory the "essence of genuine education, religion and democracy."

14. E. Kühnemann, *Herder* (2d ed., Munich, 1912), pp. 343–345.

15. For further authoritative information on Herder set down previous to the advent of National Socialism, in the light of his contributions, see Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism,* especially chaps. iii, iv, pp. 82–139, on Herder's conception of nationality as pertaining to Germany. From the National Socialist point of view see Grete Eichler's doctor's dissertation, *Der Nationale Gedanke bei Herder* (Cologne), Emsdetten, 1934. This is a strong presentation of Herder as a founder of German Nationalism (see pp. 59–62 especially), but its author is well aware that Herder's nationalism grew out of a "religious longing to carry a torch into the dark regions of the human soul" (p. 1). Compare this with Ergang's conclusion (reached in 1931) on Herder's nationalism (p. 263): "The nationalism, however, which Herder advocated was not the narrow nationalism of the later nineteenth century. Herder's nationalism was in its essence humanitarian; it was built around the principle of the essential unity of mankind as a whole. Hence his nationalism is free from the reproaches which may be brought against nationalism of the violent and exclusive type. He did not, like later nationalists, endeavor to inculcate in the minds of his countrymen an absolute faith in their superiority over all other nationalities. The foundation of his nationalism was human brotherhood, and not *Deutschland über alles.* The glorification of nationality was to him not the ultimate goal. In urging the German people to cultivate their nationality, he was driven by the desire of having them fulfill their mission to mankind as a whole. He stressed the development of national characteristics and the spontaneous action of the national soul because he believed that both were necessary to the perfection of the nationality, and because he believed that the perfection of the various nationalities was requisite to the perfection of mankind. The final justification of national existence lay for him in the contribution of the national group to humanity at large. Herder's nationalism was, therefore, not heavily freighted with war. In its essence it was non-aggressive."

born of the times. In drawing conclusions about Herder's nationalism, one must remember that he was addressing himself to a number of autonomous, segregated states, urging upon them a unity which was at the moment only a dream. If he had lived in a united Germany, even as it was in Bismarck's day, his cry for nationalism might well have given way to catholicity of spirit, to nationalization on a broad liberal scale, even to a federation of nations. It is exceedingly doubtful that Herder would have supported a system of pedagogy based on the supremacy of the Nordic race and preparation for military life as the pinnacle of educational endeavor, and emphasizing such realism of instruction as defense-physics and geopolitics.

On the other hand, the observer who fails to see Herder at the root of modern German pedagogy, in its striving for harmonious personality and national unity based on indigenous culture, is committing a signal error. The words of Herder in a long past generation are being more and more realized: "Every nation has in itself its center of blessedness, as a ball its center of gravity."

Although Herder was among the first to conceive the idea of a "folk-soul," and to envision an organic, plantlike unfolding of folk-souls in the world, the first proponent of free surrender to the whole in a manner recognizable in modern practice was Fichte. Where many philosophers were satisfied simply to reason, Fichte was the man of action. It is the active philosophy of Fichte that is mirrored in National Socialism today. Goethe's doctrine of the primacy of action, "In the beginning was the deed," was the real impetus in the development of nationalist idealism.[16]

National Socialism finds its own roots in certain theories of Fichte, which might be listed somewhat as follows:

1. The Germans are the Urvolk (original ancient race); they shall be a model nation.

2. The individual must surrender to and be absorbed by the whole.

3. "We must follow the leader with closed eyes."

4. The state is exalted and eternal; it must control all education.

16. Cf. John Dewey, *German Philosophy and Politics*, pp. 69–70.

5. There must be an end to the prominence of intellectualism in education.

These theories require some elaboration and comment.

1. Fichte's conception of the Urvolk reflects his conviction of what real German history should be: "In the beginning the Urvolk, the original people, lived in a paradise of innocence, a paradise without knowledge, labor and art."[17] That is the starting point for the regeneration and ennobling of the human race, and we must constantly reach back to it.[18] Education must aim at human morality. "It must succeed in producing men and women who are inwardly and fundamentally good."[19] Germany was to be a model for all nations, "for she had preserved her nationality unadulterated, had a truly national language and literature, and had a faith alone among nations in the spirit and the infinite."[20]

Against this background National Socialism, regardless of its own idealism, becomes definitely materialistic. Fichte's theory of Volk interpreted the meaning of existence; it was not meant to determine existence. When Fichte espoused the improvement of race, he meant not only the German race but the entire human race. Moreover, such an improvement was to be achieved through human morality in the realization of the greater self which is God, and not through national morality in the interest of the "folk."

Again, Fichte's theory of Volk was not at all anti-Christian. He believed in a religious training based on the principle that man is not only a member of human society, but also a link in a higher spiritual order. Religion and morality are one; both involve the supersensuous, but where morality is achieved through action, religion is realized through belief. Religion has a necessary place in education because it is the "knowledge of the indwelling of our life with God which answers man's final

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 101–102; F. C. Engelbrecht, *Johann Gottlieb Fichte* (New York, 1933), p. 117.

18. Fichte's thought moves within this orbit: freedom—moral—order of the universe—duty. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 29.

19. G. H. Turnbull, *The Educational Theory of J. G. Fichte* (Liverpool, 1926), pp. 41–42. Ernst Bergmann, *Fichte der Erzieher* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 295, 320 especially.

20. Kandel, *Making of Nazis*, p. 451. Bergmann, *op. cit.*, chap. iv, "Der Beruf des Deutschtums zur Menschheitserziehung."

question and solves for him the last contradiction, thereby bringing complete unity into his understanding, [and] making him perfectly clear to himself. . . ."[21] The religious program of present-day Germany with its "Teuton religion" (*Deutschreligion*), and its reverence for mystagogic rites, old tribal folklore, Wagnerianism, commemorative festivals, and captivating Teutonic symbolism to the glory of the "ancient race," is thus wholly at odds with Fichte's human and Christian morality.

2. When Fichte taught that the individual should surrender to the whole he meant that the individual was the point of departure, that through his works "a better civilization might be achieved," and not chiefly a better immediate community.[22] In fact, Fichte was so devoted to humanity as a whole that he deplored family instruction and extolled state-controlled education. He assumed that the state would be guided by ethical right, and would know the morale suitable for the community.[23] The state was therefore an end only because of its very nature: it was the only agency responsible to God.[24]

It is beyond cavil that in the National Socialist doctrine education is assigned the task of developing the individual for the sake of the community into which he is born.[25] This, together with Fichte's advocacy of student self-activity, has come down to the present day. But it was not left for National Socialism to realize this teaching. The influence of Fichte bore fruit in schools organized a generation ago, such as the Einheitsschule ("common school") and the Arbeitsschule ("work school") where practical constructive work is done by every pupil for the

21. Turnbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51. Washington Gladden, "Fichte, the Philosopher," *Witnesses of the Light* (Boston, 1903), p. 122, says: "It is probably safe to say that there is no man in Germany whose faith in God is so strong as that of Fichte." See also Bergmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 326–331, "Die religiöse Erziehung."

22. Gladden, *op. cit.*, p. 126: "Each of us makes his own world: There are no realities of knowledge except God and myself, and the self in men is but a manifestation of God."

23. Bergmann, *op. cit.*, p. 279: *"Der Staat—hat die Pflicht zur Durchführung der Nationalerziehung."*

24. Engelbrecht, *op. cit.*, chap. iv, on "Socialism and Dawn of Nationalism," is excellent on the function of the state, while chap. v on "Triumphant Nationalism" describes the Germans as a Volk. Turnbull, *op. cit.*, p. 99, says: "The state, therefore, becomes the complete expression of man's ideals and purposes," so that the claims of other agencies (like the church) must be secondary.

25. Engelbrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

common good. In both types of institution the pupil has always been made to realize the debt he owes to the community, while at the same time he has been taught moral independence and management of his own resources.[26] Actually, Fichte's community training was merely another phase of his plea for political unity, as against prevailing political selfishness and greedy local individualism.[27] The opportunist, pan-German impulse in education, dominated by desire to create a "soldierly morale," did not exist.

3. When Fichte advocated obedience and "subjection to the mind of another,"[28] he limited its narrower interpretation to the ideal training for young people. He objected to persuasion and reasoning on the part of private persons. It was his conviction that the ideal moral order could be realized only "by separating children from their parents and causing them to live in a self-contained community."[29] To him, the formation of character was not a haphazard thing; it had to be "definitely intended, deliberately pursued, and inevitably produced."[30] A child's moral endowment was for the state to determine; it must not be left to chance or individual whim.[31]

While the imagined outlines of this system of discipline have certainly not as yet reached practice, it is part of National Socialist educational theory that the state shall become the leading guide of the child after his sixth birthday. He is not taken from his home, but the demands on his time are so great that the home is coming to be, as distressed parents remark everywhere, only a place to eat and sleep. Yet even with the Training Insti-

26. Turnbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–90. Bergmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 288–289.

27. See in particular his two pamphlets, *Zurückforderung der Denkfreiheit* and *Beitrage über die Französische Revolution* (1793), both defending revolution and democracy and denouncing the old autocratic order. Cf. Engelbrecht, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 44 ff. for other pamphlets decrying the existing social order. Cf. also Bergmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 275–276 and pp. 277–284 where a discussion is to be found on Fichte's *Reden an die deutsche Nation.*

28. Turnbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47. Engelbrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Fichte, *Reden,* VII, IX.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

31. Fichte advocated this sort of training for his own son in a letter to his wife in which he writes that only the state can give their son the proper character training. He decried the lawlessness of university students, particularly at Jena where mobs of *Burschen* frequently broke into houses and stole wine from cellars for their own carousals. "Neither dignity of man nor the helplessness of woman was any protection against their brutalities." Gladden, *op. cit.*, p. 121. Dewey, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

tutes or the Adolf Hitler Schools, no leading National Socialist philosopher today would abolish family education. This phase of training is considered most essential, since it educates the next generation to be "good" fathers and mothers.[32]

In the broader sense, Fichte's idea of obedience came chiefly from the conviction that national unity could be achieved only through unflinching loyalty to capable leaders. His whole purpose was to indicate means for a badly needed political regeneration, a key to which he offered in this type of uniform moral and spiritual educational program.[33] That this leads to inconsistency on Fichte's part there is no question. One might well ask how can a child be trained for independence of thought and moral stability if he is to be trained to do as the state commands?[34] How can pupil-initiative be compatible with blind submission to the will of an educator? But in this respect National Socialism has resolved the conflict, for we are reminded that if the call of blood is heeded no one can or will want to think differently from the state. Indeed, man's true and natural thoughts can be realized and interpreted only through the substance of the Nordic race. Everything else is illusion; literally, "race-alien."

4. Next must come a closer examination of Fichte's concepts of the state, in education, as against the general background of his system. The state becomes in Fichte's mind "the complete expression of man's ideals and purposes," to the subordination of all other social agencies.[35] However, what reservations must be made in interpreting this definition? Fichte is a product of idealism. Fichtean idealism interprets reality in terms of an ego or spirit, defined in turn by the various connotations of will. For him reality is spirit, a one great self, God. The only world we know is the world created and contemplated from within. Each self builds its own world, so that where there is no self there is no world. This makes his philosophy in a sense subjective; but if action depends on the existence of something on

32. Krieck, *Nationalpolitische Erziehung*, p. 65: "Training and education are an essential part of family life." The family works with the state in the education of the child, and is a necessary counterpart thereto.

33. Turnbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31.

34. See discussion on pupil "free will," Bergmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–295, where there is an attempt to explain Fichte's theory.

35. Turnbull, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

which to act, a larger self, the individual self can be but a part of this larger self. The yearning for participation in the infinite larger self is the yearning which results from God who is this larger self, and in whom only we achieve self-realization. Furthermore, the meaning of existence is apparent only through the realization of kinship and inner fellowship. The self is not merely contemplative; it progresses in the active manifestation of its inner moral nature, as it strives to assert itself, increasingly and endlessly.[36]

But National Socialism represents a fundamentally different philosophy with theories bordering on the Darwinian origin of species and survival of the fittest, mixed with strong potions from the laboratories of racial scientists. Education in Germany today is conceived as a development of human growth along preconceived patterns of achievement, involving a priori conceptions of the character a man should have if he is to be a worthy member of the "folk." In large measure Volk conceptions determine individual personality. Mystically, the personality develops best when limited by Volk patterns, and determined in a "voluntary" and natural way by blood and soil. Fichte would hardly allow such assumptions. He did not advocate education for a racial pedigree. The organic mode of life he conceived was intended not so much for a united aggressive front as to put an end to selfish particularism. Fichte wanted Germany to be a *model*, not a *master* nation.

5. But it must be admitted that Fichtean educational philosophy, centering on the formation of the whole man at the expense of intellectualism, is in fair measure the practice today. To Fichte, intellectualism is only one of the four necessary elements in education: the moral, the religious, the intellectual, and the physical. "Mental development is not the chief and original aim of education; it is only a condition and means of moral training; it is a secondary product in the development of the will." Education should develop spontaneous activity, for it is only through activity, i.e., experience, that man gains knowledge.[37] Bookishness and pure intellectualism must give way to

36. Gladden, *op. cit.*, p. 125, says Fichte's philosophy is an example of "subjective idealism."

37. Bergmann, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

industrial communities, education for citizenship, loyalty to one's country, and the harmonious development of the whole man. But this realization antedated National Socialism, the industrial school for example having been championed by Kerschensteiner. It was left for National Socialism only to remodel such schools under a reinterpretation of educational ideas.

Fichte granted the university a twofold function: as a training ground for future public officials, servants of the government, and as a nursery for free scientific thought itself; in turn an agency for initiating important developments in the thought and action of the community.[38]

But, in all the wealth of Fichtean philosophy there is no mention of thought originating only in and through the community. And although National Socialism university training may draw deeply upon the "science of knowledge" of a patriot, it throws overboard all elements of it which are not in accord with contemporary demands. Obscured is Fichte's desire to bring Germans to that ideal of absolute freedom and mission of German science and philosophy which were to "contribute to the cause of the spiritual emancipation of humanity."[39] Also obscured is his longing to elevate the scholar to the position of the true priest of the absolute, the "direct manifestation of God in the world," and to bring to education the dignified task "of advancing humanity toward the realization of its divine perfection." The dignified task allotted to education today consists of advancing the "folk-race" toward the realization of its own "divine perfection." Humanity is to reach perfection only through the realization that progress depends on racial integrity, and on the willingness of mankind to mold nations according to racial precepts; including, of course, acknowledgment of the

38. Turnbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–109. Bergmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 343 ff. on "Akademische Freiheit." One of the chief values of Fichte's concept of higher education was unity of purpose, an institution being an organic whole, "an assemblage of men animated by a common purpose and steadily pursuing one recognized object." The great ends of such an education are spiritual independence, intellectual strength, and moral dignity.

39. Dewey, *op. cit.*, p. 71. Bergmann, *op. cit.*, p. 275: "Das Deutschtum ist berufen zur Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts." Cf. also Marie Heinsen, *Individuum und Gemeinschaft bei Fichte* (Nürnberg, 1933), p. 108; Helmut Schelsky, *Theorie der Gemeinschaft nach Fichtes "Naturrecht" von 1796* (Berlin, 1935), p. 91; Martin Kasper, *Kultur durch Freiheit (bei Fichte)* (Breslau, 1935), p. 8 especially.

supremacy of "certain" races over others.[40] Ideals for universal welfare are secondary.

If Fichte is reread and quoted these matters must be borne in mind. Much of his thought does suggest National Socialism. In fact, one cannot help being struck by the powerful outward semblance of the two theories. But they are fruit from different vines. The similarity is deceptive, and belies their roots and flavor.[41]

Together with Fichte, Georg Wilhelm Hegel, 1770–1831, has been indicated as influential in the development of National Socialism in Germany, but the extent of this influence is still a matter of controversy. The National Socialist, Gerhardt Giese, already cited as a Hegelian devotee, says "there is a spiritual affinity between our subjective soul [*Seele*] and Hegel's objective spirit [*Geist*]."[42] On the other hand, Fritz Söllheim protests, "We cannot accept Hegel's stark, eternal rationality";[43] and in a personal letter to the author Rudolf Benze writes that there is little in Hegel for present-day theory.[44] Serious comparison has apparently been left for pre-National Socialists, the quasi-National Socialists so to speak, such as the pedagogue Eduard Spranger and Hans Eibl the Viennese philosopher, whose love of German nationalism induced him to reconcile his Catholic leanings by bringing to light the less violent side of such men as Hegel, Nietzsche, and Treitschke.[45]

There are, however, many foreign critics who consider National Socialism largely Hegelian in practice. In the opinion of Wickham Steed, Fichte's influence is negligible compared to

40. Engelbrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 75, informs us that according to Fichte, cosmopolitanism by itself is "lazy" and "cold," and therefore "vain, useless and absurd." Patriotism is narrow and selfish. Both must be found, and must fertilize each other, in the truly educated man.

41. Further differences between Fichte and National Socialism are discernible in that the former favored (1) Coeducation, (2) Punishment based on legal, but not moral, infractions of community will, (3) Religious education left wholly to the clergy in their right of access to the schools, and (4) Religious education involving "the development of the proper sentiments of love, reverence and awe for a supreme being." (Turnbull, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–114.)

42. Giese, *op. cit.*, p. 30. See also Hördt, *op. cit.*, p. 40: Hegel has profound significance for National Socialism. "His great example can help us find the way."

43. Fritz Söllheim, *Erziehung im neuen Staat*, p. 35.

44. Berlin, December 15, 1938. See Appendix.

45. Hans Eibl, *Vom Sinn der Gegenwart*, Vienna, 1933.

that of Hegel, an attitude which by the British writer's own admission has brought criticism from his readers.[46] Aurel Kolnai seconds Steed in the conclusion that "Hegel and Hitler are one."[47] Hegel assures us, writes Kolnai, that "objective, ethical will" is identical with "state-bound will." Individual will is unreasonable; the ethical significance of individual actions is dependent on state-will; therefore the ethical will can never be at variance with state-will.

Both Steed and Kolnai point to the danger of Hegel's infatuation for the state-concept, since a state responsible to itself alone can hardly be moral.[48] Hegel went "beyond" National Socialism in recognizing the state as a person, possessing the metaphysical attributes of freedom and possible self-realization. But as an opponent of the democratic conception Hegel joins Hitler in identifying freedom with law; in substituting discipline for equality; in merging the personality, the individual, into the state; and in establishing the state as supreme in moral law.[49] What are the limitations of such views and their implications for education?

Contemporary references to Hegelian educational theory are

46. Wickham Steed, *The Meaning of Hitlerism* (London, 1934), p. 53: "My answer is Fichte is in many respects the antithesis of Hegel." (Steed emphasizes individual freedom in Fichte.)

47. *Ibid.*, p. 39; Kolnai, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

48. *Ibid.*, Introduction and pp. 127–128. Wickham Steed, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff. Steed tries to point out the sinister qualities of Hegelianism with its "discrediting" of the "principles which inspired liberal progress," and "in particular—the ablest British and French contributions to political and social thought." "Today, more than ever, it is essential that we should understand exactly where the falsity of this theory lies—" (see pp. 55–58). The English commentator calls to mind the fact that Hegel's "nonsense" also influenced Marx and Engels (see pp. 67–69). This is, if stated more delicately, very true, and may be substantiated from many sources, notably Sidney Hook, *From Hegel to Marx*, and G. D. H. Cole, *What Marx Really Meant*, but it seems to the author that Steed makes too sweeping a generalization in his comparison of Marxian Socialism (much less Leninism) with National Socialism, regardless of the recent rapprochement of Russia and Germany. Steed chooses certain elements of Hegel, Nietzsche, Sorel, and Mussolini to the exclusion of others to prove his point, namely, that all Hegelianism leads to nothing but "modernized variants of semi-Oriental despotism."

49. H. O. Ziegler's *Die moderne Nation* (Tübingen, 1931) further compares the Hegel system of logic and history with special regard to his state theory. See also Walter Heinrich's *Staats und Wirtschaftsauffassung des Fascismus* (Berlin, 1929). Hans Eibl presents the Catholic National Socialist attitude in his scholarly *Vom Sinn der Gegenwart* (Vienna, 1933); and Aurel Kolnai reviews the whole in his *War against the West, passim.*

rarely direct. As a matter of fact, there is no separate work on education from this philosopher's pen to which one may conveniently refer. His educational ideas are discernible rather through inference or in connection with broader principles.

Generally speaking, for Hegel all education is the art of making men ethical, "of transforming the old Adam into the new Adam." "The child is the mere possibility of a moral being."[50] The beginning of all wisdom is obedience; not, however, an obedience involving blind submission in the manner of Fichte, but one advocating conscious conformity to universal reason. Here is where great differences from modern theory become apparent.

First of all what are, modestly expressed, the fundamentals of Hegelianism? Hegel was an idealist and a monist, a spiritual monist, but spiritual in the sense of intellectual, not volitional, as in the case of Schopenhauer or even Fichte.[51] This makes reality rational for Hegel, with emphasis on the pure reasoning qualities of man as representing the whole of mental life. (For example, without the world, God is not God.) The mind is a self-centered identity, much as with Fichte; an empirical substance that makes for stability, while with Fichte it is interpreted in terms of activity and process. Rationality is the whole process with Hegel; with Fichte, it is the process that posits existence, while reality creates and activates the content of mind. Hegel does not conceive mind as apart from its activity; its awareness of self arises in its process of being and becoming. This applies also to the universe. The universal mind realizes itself as a single comprehensive process in which separatism has no place. Hegel's absolutism, the all-inclusive mind, is more static than activistic, or even evolutional. Ultimate reality lies therefore in consciousness, the essence of mind, and an affirmation of the thing-in-itself.

Hegel's process of rationality imbedded in the self-realizing mind can hardly be traced in contemporary irrational individualism. The state may be an objective social organism higher

50. G. W. Hegel, *Werke*, I, 396–399. See also J. McBride Sterrett, *The Ethics of Hegel* (1893), p. 13.

51. William M. Bryant, *Hegel's Educational Ideas* (Werner Book Co., 1896), p. 195. Bertrand Russell, *Philosophy* (New York, 1927), pp. 227–229. Hegel as a monist is described on pp. 250–251.

than the individual, but for Hegel it is individual morality that determines state morality. Hegel advocates self-sacrifice to the whole, but the whole is not a special whole; it is the whole of *universal rightness*. The state is absolute, and an end, only because it represents and administers right, which includes law and justice. When Hegel eulogized the Prussian state he did so not because it was Prussian, but because in his mind it represented justice achieved through reason. A state, therefore, is not absolute unless it embodies universal moral right.

Coming closer to the educational process, Hegel's final maturity of discipline and training does not end with Volk; it ends with God. Man's training is aimed at obliterating the natural evil in him, and substituting the good, attainable through reason. National Socialist education is not primarily for a Hegelian-conceived moral life, except where such a life is in accord with the aims of the movement.

Again with Hegel the individual must learn to rationalize his reason, to rationalize laws, for his own good, on his own account, to his own satisfaction. National Socialism imposes "natural" laws which, though coming from selected minds, must be accepted as binding for the welfare of the whole which is the German folk or race. Hegelian idealism and rationalism do not seem to have much in common with the professed irrationalism of National Socialism, or the emotional, heartfelt drives to which awareness of "blood ties" and "soil-bindingness" gives rise. Although there is no denying Hegelian influence in German educational philosophy today, the firmer roots of National Socialist theory must, it seems, be sought elsewhere.

2. *Transition through Criticism*

THE idealistic philosophy of the Hegelian school prevailed during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, but in the 'forties there came a violent reaction against all speculative philosophy, and the desire arose for careful and patient research on a purely scientific basis. "Science became a matter of the laboratory and not of the poet's flight. History was studied more and more exclusively from original sources. Theology adopted the methods of historical criticism."[52] Hegelian philosophy became anathema.

52. Reisner, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

This period was marked by merciless criticism of all that had been considered best in Christian civilization. The Bible, the person of Christ, the essentials of religion, as well as political and economic theory were all subjected to a "higher criticism" based on cold scientific procedure. This was the era that produced Karl Marx, Strauss, Baur, and others who regardless of sensitivity laid their hands on the most sacred of man's works and spread doubt and skepticism over them.

The graver implication in all this scientific procedure lay not so much in the process as in the result. There arose a demand for radical revision of the social and political order. Peasants were called upon to participate in the new order, and university professors were allowed to test their theories in practical life. Many a dreamer who could not possibly have succeeded in a world of commerce was permitted to pursue the sort of life envisaged in his reveries. The sober, respectable property owner might well have viewed with alarm the encroachment of theorists upon a way of living sacred to him for generations. Extreme liberality in politics is nearly always accompanied by liberalism in religion, and the church came to be also an object of attack because it sustained the established order; an order, it was said, not in accordance with natural fact.

To go further into the philosophy of this period would have no point here. The business of the middle of the century was to combat this overambition in intellectual circles, which was producing a class of people who could not be sure of realizing their calling in the existing society; people who, themselves discontented, inevitably spread discontent to others. The aim of educational method was to produce a sound and contented generation, principally by examining the already revealed truths of Christianity, and by modesty in the enjoyment of life, by fidelity in vocational duties, brotherly love, and lastly, by that "knowledge which is a part of human culture, and which advances and ennobles existence."[53]

This period of reaction did not essentially impede the progress of nationalist feeling among the states of Germany. Under the leadership of Prussia the desire for unification of the German states grew to such an extent as to become a matter of alarm in foreign circles. The growth of nationalism, opposed to

53. Quoted, *ibid.*, p. 160.

the catholicity of the Roman Church, caused Pope Pius IX to urge measures against the absorption of ecclesiastical rights by the increasingly strong German state. The scientific questioning of the 'forties had seriously disturbed church authorities. With the growth of liberalism in politics, the position of the church was becoming weaker and weaker.

The ensuing struggle between church and state in Germany during the latter half of the nineteenth century is known as the *Kulturkampf*, or "battle of culture." Although severe measures were enacted against the activity of church in the state schools, it is an open question whether the state won its fight. In the time of Bismarck up to 1890, the church seemed gradually to be gaining the upper hand, largely through the influence of the Catholic party in the Reichstag. For purposes of this inquiry, the Kulturkampf is especially important because from the state's point of view it proved that, despite Bismarck's efficiency in uniting the Germanies, Germans were not united in thought and deed. The "satiated" Germany to which Bismarck refers was more an idea than a fact. It has already been shown that National Socialists reproach Bismarck for his complacency in wanting to maintain a status quo, involving solely internal development.

The German nation, particularly after 1870, began under nationalist influence to possess what someone has called "two souls," the soul of poetry and thought which she always had, and the new soul of combat and mastery. This new feeling of mastery, this love of power and more power, was evident in every phase of German life from vast external economic expansion to "massive" internal reconstruction. The War of 1870 with its concomitant military extravagance produced in the newly created German a pride in exclusive nationalism, which came to maturity in the years following the accession of William II (1890). The Kulturkampf had been demonstrative of the new nationalist spirit in the German government, expressing the urge for complete control of internal life and independence from external influences. But at the same moment Germany found that she could no longer confine her interest to internal affairs. A tremendous increase in population forced her to seek raw materials outside national boundaries, thus making her a competitor in world markets. Competition for colonies and

colonial markets was one cause of the great international tension prior to 1914, when Germany was aggressively seeking her "place in the sun."

Into these eventful years of national self-assertion there entered a group of philosophers whose critical and rather violent theories reflected the growing importance of might in the scale of national and social values. While not essentially chauvinistic in temper, they advanced principles that in one way or another exalted the sanctity and superiority of the German race. To this school belong such men as Nietzsche (within definite limits), Treitschke, Lagarde, Chamberlain, Langbehn, Bernhardi, and Stefan George, theorists who in a very general way take their place as forerunners of National Socialism. It will be necessary to study each in turn.

The philosophy of Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844–1900) merits attention as supposedly prophetic of National Socialism,[54] although the extent of his influence is, even more than in the case of Hegel, still an open question.

In the philosophy of Fichte and Hegel there is a constant emphasis on the good, the true, and the beautiful. Nietzsche condemns these values as life-arresting and illusory, because an instinct for them does not really exist.[55] What does exist is another instinct: the will-to-power, the will to a stronger and higher existence. The will-to-power picks out what is good, true, and beautiful, because it naturally concerns itself with whatever is useful to the individual in his effort to surpass others. The good, true, and beautiful are therefore not fixed values; they are relative, and there is always some human type back of them, which is using them to further its own interests.

As often interpreted nowadays, this famous doctrine of the will-to-power demands self-sacrifice on the part of the present generation to produce the supermen of the future.[56] The sacrifice is imperative. It amounts to a religion, in rigorous pa-

54. Cf. Harry Slochower, "Friedrich Nietzsche—Cosmic Exile," *The Educational Forum* (May, 1939), p. 404: "Alfred Rosenberg . . . holds Nietzsche to be the precursor of racial eugenics. Moeller van den Bruck . . . makes the same claim . . . except for racial Aryanism. Alfred Bäumler selects Nietzsche's paganism as his characteristic." On the whole, he continues, the National Socialists welcome Nietzsche's heroic realism "avoiding the question of its content and direction."

55. *Ibid.*, p. 395: "Nietzsche called idealism the history of an error."

56. Cf. George Catlin, *Story of the Political Philosophers*, pp. 530–531.

tience demanding the souls of its followers; exacting a reduction of material wealth, rigid austerity of self-discipline and training; legislation for the race and not for the individual, for the future and not for the present. It demands an education not so much for the masses as for a few men picked for "the great and lasting work—the aristocracy of good Europeans, the 'higher men,' who shall be the bridges to the supermen—men of good courage and a burning hope." In this way heroism will return to its place of honor, and nations will wage war for the sake of ideas and their consequences, ideas aiming at the dissemination of a "higher culture" among less cultured nations.[57]

Nietzsche is best known perhaps for his conception of the superman, developed in *Also Sprach Zarathustra.* In the eyes of many modern writers, Hitler has demonstrated himself as the actual personification of the superman, Nietzsche's philosophy offering a convenient superstructure from which National Socialism may be rationalized. Nietzsche's superman has been used to defend the creation and training of an élite, with all the ideals involved in an education for heroes, hero worship, and the various attitudes necessary for a society built on the leadership-followship principle. Men of the neonationalist school like Dühring or Hermann Drahn welcome Nietzsche because they see him as advocating education for a "nobler humanity and morality," chiefly dependent on the "breeding of a superior type."[58] With great satisfaction also men of Schemann's persuasion see Teutonic physical beauty, natural prowess, and love of freedom as part of the Nietzschean ideal.[59] However, these identifications have not gone unchallenged.[60]

Pertinent in this connection are the findings of a Frenchman,

57. Ernest Barker, *Nietzsche and Treitschke* (Oxford University Press, 1914), p. 14. For the principal source of these conclusions, see Friedrich Nietzsche, Lecture (Basel, 1872), on *The Future of our Educational Institutions* (translated by Kennedy, Macmillan, New York, 1911), p. 75. In addition, society is conceived as a scaffolding by means of which a select class of beings may be able to elevate themselves to their higher duties, and in general to a higher existence. *Beyond Good and Evil* (Modern Library, New York, 1885), pp. 198–200.

58. Cf. Kolnai, *op. cit.*, p. 599.

59. Cf. the work of Georg Lucacs, the Marxian critic, who sees Nietzsche as a precursor of National Socialism, since he was "the first philosophic herald of imperialist barbarism." See Slochower, *op. cit.*, pp. 404–405.

60. *Ibid.*, "Indeed, Nietzsche has provided material for both sides."

Marius Paul Nicolas.[61] Nicolas makes a running refutation of the claims of National Socialism on Nietzschean philosophy, and as to Nietzsche's own point of view he establishes certain points as follows: (1) The true must not be sacrificed for the practical.[62] (2) The only type of force advocated is that of the mind and the will. Might is not always right.[63] (3) Nietzsche's ideal man, the superman, did not endorse community spirit.[64] (4) There was little opportunism in Nietzsche. He was a utopist, and disregarded time in setting up moral truths. (5) Nietzsche's theories on Christianity are actually antagonistic to those of National Socialism. (Nicolas contrasts Nietzsche's "super"-Christianity with Hitler's "sub"-Christianity.) (6) Nietzsche's superrace was the European, not the German race. He was not anti-Semitic.[65] (7) Neither nationalism nor socialism as conceived today has any foundation in Nietzsche.[66]

What are the implications of these findings?[67] In the first

61. M. P. Nicolas, *De Nietzsche à Hitler,* Charpentier, Paris, 1936. A masterpiece of research, whether the reader agrees with the conclusions or not, it is primarily an answer to Julien Benda's *La Trahison des Clercs,* Paris, 1936, in which Benda attempted to prove that Nietzschean philosophy has provided the superstructure from which Hitler could rationalize National Socialism. Incidentally Benda censures both Nietzsche and National Socialism, but Nicolas sees the better side of Nietzsche which National Socialism has failed to incorporate.

62. Nicolas cites Nietzsche's letter to Malwida von Meysenburg of Naumbourg, January, 1880.

63. *Ibid.,* pp. 44–45.

64. "La première question qu'il faut poser, pour ce qui concerne la hierarchie, c'est de savoir jusqu'à quel point on a des instincts solitaires ou des instincts de troupeaux." Quoted by Nicolas from Nietzsche, *La Volunté de Puissance* (*Der Wille zur Macht*), II, 205.

65. *Lettre à sa sœur,* Nice, le 26 décembre, 1887; also two letters to Theodor Fritzsch, an anti-Semite (pp. 131–134); Nietzsche writes: "The Jews are for me more interesting than the Germans" (p. 131). "I cannot tolerate such idiosyncrasies as anti-Semitism" (p. 132). "I must reject such amateur puerilities as . . . submission to authority, and such vague expressions as Germanistic, Semitic, Aryan, Christian, etc." (pp. 133–134). See also p. 139.

66. *Humain, trop humain,* II, 138, 163, quoted in Nicolas, p. 144.

67. Many of Nicolas' theories find a different interpretation from such National Socialist sources as Alfred Bäumler (*Nietzsche der Philosoph und Politiker,* Leipzig, 1937). This does not mean that Bäumler does not see Nietzsche at variance with National Socialism. As a matter of fact he does, and seeks to find logical flaws in Nietzsche's reasoning which by their correction enhance National Socialist ideology. Moreover, Bäumler has also set himself the task, by skillful *exegesis,* of fitting much of Nietzsche into the general pattern and ideology of National Socialism. See also Slochower, *op. cit.,* especially pp. 404–408. Slochower is in practically complete agreement with Nicolas; much of his

place, Nietzschean will-to-power, strongly influenced by Darwinism,[68] was not a particularist will-to-power for Germany and Germans;[69] it was oriented toward the improvement of all human kind. National Socialism is sure of what is good and what is evil; Nietzsche was not.[70] His entire theory of *das Ding an sich*, including his original conception of will,[71] is not the will of National Socialism which sets up such creeds as self-sacrifice for the fatherland through the mystic influence of the blood stream. In all Nietzsche's tragic denunciation, there was still the deep-rooted love of the *human* race. One German, writing in 1933, asks rhetorically, "Was he not so much the philosopher and the friend of original, universal truth that he went to pieces in the service of truth, in the service of life?"[72] And from another who did his research under the well-known nationalistic philosopher, Schulze-Soelde: "[Nietzsche] demands from the German that he be not only a good German but also a good European. . . . The petty, jealous, and particularist theory of politics which still controls many states must step into the background and make way for a powerful Europe."[73] First Europe, and then Germany. Would National Socialism agree to this?

The juxtaposition of Nietzsche and National Socialism when brought into clearer focus reveals a disparity in ideals of even wider significance than that already mentioned. Nietzsche called for the complete destruction of civilization before its rebirth, whereas National Socialism wishes to expand from the "here and now" (Sturm), the status quo. Nietzsche's master-morality was cultural excellence over and above, not merely accompanying, national and economic expansion. Nietzsche's higher culture, essentially atomic and disharmonious, is completely op-

article is a refutation of Georg Lucacs in the manner of Nicolas' attack on Benda.

68. Ludwig Haas, *Der Darwinismus bei Nietzsche* (Giessen, 1932), p. 40 especially.

69. Cf. Hugo Fischer, *Nietzsche Apostata* (Erfurt, 1931), pp. 261–263, on "Der Nationalstaat als Symptom des Niederganges der Staatordnung."

70. Haas, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

71. Cf. Fritz Sprengel, *Nietzsche und das Ding an sich* (Königsberg, 1933), pp. 60–61.

72. Erika Emmerisch, *Wahrheit und Wahrhaftigkeit in der Philosophie Nietzsches* (Bonn, 1933), p. 117.

73. Karl Umland, *Nietzsches Würdigung des Menschen* (Würzburg, 1938), pp. 101–102.

posed to such key-concepts of National Socialism as organic wholeness, coördination, and sanctity of the racial state. Under Nietzsche's passionate diatribes and sweeping condemnation, there are still many clear, cold distinctions; for example, Zarathustra draws the line between "soldiers" and "warriors," that is, "between those who fight blindly and unquestioningly" and those who possess the courage and ability to choose their party and standard.[74] The pageantry, symbolism, uniforms, and general histrionic setup of National Socialism have no place in the philosopher's lonely idealism; like Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, it was a "song of passion for *all* things human."[75]

Finally, with special reference to education, such policies as "carrying heroism into knowledge," limiting scientific truths to Volk values and interpretations, training youth for Volk membership and self-assertion, and waging war for the sake of nationally limited ideas have little or no part in Nietzschean philosophy.[76]

The name of Heinrich von Treitschke seems always to be linked with that of Nietzsche, and yet in many ways upon closer examination the disparity of their teachings becomes more and more marked. Nietzsche was an enemy of Christianity; Treitschke was a good Protestant. Nietzsche advocated a form of internationalism; Treitschke extolled Prussianism. But both loved power; both praised war; both strove for ascendancy and conquest.[77]

Through inadequate understanding the name of Treitschke has been associated altogether with cunning statecraft, smart politics, and diabolical foreign policy. As professor of history at the University of Berlin this thinker was extremely popular, his lectures being attended by soldiers and administrators as well as by students. On such occasions he expounded a political theory which left his hearers enchanted with visions of a mighty German empire. While a great deal of Treitschke has only slight bearing on education, he must be considered a molder of significant political thought, in vogue during his time.

74. Slochower, *op. cit.*, p. 402. 75. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 409.

76. A very scholarly and arresting treatment on this subject is to be found from the gifted pen of Crane Brinton (Harvard), "The National Socialists' Use of Nietzsche," *Journal of the History of Ideas* (April, 1940), I, 131–150.

77. Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.

Treitschke's central tenet is "the state is power." The cult of power and the values of war are part of the faith of Treitschke as of Nietzsche. But there is a difference in interpretation. Power for Treitschke was Prussian power; war, Prussian war. Nietzsche's "good" European was a "bad" Prussian, while his "will-to-power" was an individual will. Treitschke's only power was the power of the collective state, the nation.[78]

Treitschke does not, however, conceive the state as representing national life pure and simple, in the manner of Hegel. Hegel looked upon the state as the embodiment of a moral idea, capable of achieving its own desires; but with Treitschke the state's function is merely protective and administrative. "The state can influence only by external compulsion; it represents the nation only from the point of view of power," he asserts in his *Politik*.[79]

In Treitschke's eyes history is a great drama and states are actors in it. In fact, the state is first of all a person and afterward a moral community. "It is called upon," he says, "to make positive efforts for the education of the human race, and its final purpose is that a people may shape for themselves a real character in it and by means of it."[80] Treating his subject more historically than speculatively, he enumerates certain tasks undertaken by civilized states with success, such as elementary education and patronage of the fine arts. As civilization progresses, he notes the tendency of states to assume a wider sphere of influence. But this influence becomes more and more indirect. Out of increased consideration for personal liberty the state has sought to control education. In other words, "the modern state gives opportunities for self-development without endeavoring to enlighten men by force."[81]

Treitschke does not advocate a new intellectual movement sponsored by the state. In his typically retrospective manner

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–18. Since Treitschke was apparently more interested in "nation" (in particular, the German nation) with its warm and tangible forms, than the "state" as an abstract organism, nation will be often used instead of state. (See narrative below.)

79. Heinrich von Treitschke, *Politik*, 2 vols. See pp. 62–63 especially, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1899–1900.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

81. H. W. C. Davis, *Heinrich von Treitschke (The Political Thought of)* (London, 1914), p. 135.

he urges that the state organize the "exuberant activities of a free people," "repress harmful tendencies," and in short "foster the really vital energies of the people."[82] He desires a well-trained, well-drilled population—"the inevitable masses," he calls them—and with this, the training of a group of statesmen to be more conspicuously distinguished for strength of will than flexibility of intellect. The strength of a nation lies in character, obedience, and stern justice. "The state is not an academy of fine arts"; such "humanitarian" aspirations are inimical to the element of power. Great thinkers are to be revered in history, but it is "men of action" who are the true heroes. Bismarck, for example, is more important than Fichte in founding the German empire;[83] Emperor William's strength of will (character) was more influential than his genius as a man of culture. In Treitschke's view, education should be first for power, second for character, and only lastly for training of the intellect.

In many ways this reasoning seems a product of previous national idealism with the exclusion of certain ideas of world culture, or universality, as the primary aim of mankind. The nationalism of Herder and Fichte now becomes militant, founded on a nation's right to the assumption and assertion of power. One begins to hear of war waged to create the supernation, involving the power of will in a way Nietzsche would recognize. Hegelian ideas of human morals, universal justice, and punishment receive with Treitschke definite national limitations. There is no such thing as primordial universal right; each nation determines its own basis and method of civilization.

Such a swift survey of Treitschkean philosophy impresses one immediately with the great resemblance it bears to National Socialism. For the first time elements of national self-assertion through force and certain ideas as to the sanctity of treaties are accepted as standards of modern behavior in Germany. The self-preservation theories of Treitschke certainly resound in the nation's present policy, and although the philosopher envisages a world of equal states, he still voices the longing for a supernation, or even supernations, among which must be Germany.

82. Treitschke, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

83. It will be remembered here that Fichte himself advocated activism. It is rather amusing to read how Treitschke applies Fichte in this backhanded way.

But with all this, Treitschke's thought does not embody those special aspects of National Socialism that center around the concept of Volk. His educational trinity of power, character, and intellect is dangerously close to Hitler and his followers, but has little to do with physical training for race purity. Character training is for personal sacrifice and obedience, of course, even to the everlasting glory of the nation; but such character training is not limited to the specific benefit of, or even primarily determined by, the state. The individual must have free room for development, and it is the duty of the state to regulate matters so as to make this possible.

The present plan for establishing an élite is much more programmatic than Treitschke's "statesmen imbued with power of will," and establishes its philosophy largely on the basis of "natural" selection, eliminating all who are not strongly Aryan- and National Socialist-minded. Treitschke would insist that they be German-minded, if anything, but his process of selection would not include the training of a group according to set pattern and with a preconceived, specialized purpose. His statesmen would be the products of specially guaranteed but individually unconstrained education; not fostered by a political party to preserve its ideas, nor essentially particularist in any way, or founded on a leadership-followship principle. They would attain high state position rather through forceful originality and private determination for national ends. Here again we fail to find the metaphysical roots of National Socialism. Where can they lie?

3. *Metaphysical Roots*

One of the assumptions that Treitschke made, and which many Germans seem to make, is that the "culture" they love to speak about is quite peculiar to their own state. As Barker so beautifully puts it, Germany is a world of its own. "The wind of the spirit, that blows freely through Europe, stops at the Rhine, and a new wind of the German spirit takes its place."[84] This exclusive, national culture of Germany is assumed to be a final and ultimate thing, a final and absolute value, and carries with it a sustaining state equally final, ultimate, and absolute.[85]

84. Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

It is not difficult, therefore, to understand why Treitschke was so popular in Germany, and why such a political philosophy was in vogue at the beginning of the twentieth century. His *Politik* was simply a reflection of views which had been fast gaining the upper hand in influential German circles. With the possible exception of his follower Bernhardi, Treitschke was last in a line that began with Plato and pertinent elements of Aristotle's *Politics* on down through Machiavelli, Von Rochau (*Realpolitik*), Nietzsche, and Dahlmann, with Roscher in his own time. Treitschke indeed lived and preached to a listening audience.

Karl Sturm, whose ardent theories are already familiar to the reader, discerns the call to present realizations in "certain yearnings" expressed around 1890 when Bismarck's dismissal "marked an unmistakable turning point in German political life, without doubt the most important and consequential event since the founding of the Reich."[86] Sturm introduces the names of Richard Dehmel, "the" poet of the year 1900 who conceived personality as dependent wholly on "social hope and longing"; Julius Langbehn (*Rembrandt als Erzieher*), and Paul Lagarde, whose assumed French name, according to Dr. Schemann, was no hindrance to his success as a racialist.[87] The last-mentioned will be investigated first for his more general theories.

Lagarde, along with Fichte and Arndt, was according to Schemann and others the "most *deutsch* of the *Deutschdenker*" (literally "German thinkers").[88] He was a peculiar self-contradiction in his visions of a pan-Germany. He refused to accept racial bases for national success, and yet his entire teaching proves him to be a "racialist," whether willingly or not.[89] First he says, "Nations arise not through physical manifestations but through historical events"; but then, "historical events are a result of providential forces that point the way and mark the goals. Only through spiritual powers can a Volk remain ever

86. Karl Sturm, *Deutsche Erziehung im Werden*, p. 2.

87. Ludwig Schemann, *Deutsche Klassiker über die Rassenfrage* (Munich, 1931), p. 51.

88. *Ibid.;* see also Kolnai, *op. cit.*, p. 523: "*Deutschdenker* . . . are men of various interests and professions who, however, converge on the one center of Germanhood." Further, "it is not the thinker but the thought itself, nay, the object of thought, that must be German to justify the use of that forceful epithet."

89. Schemann, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

fresh and young."[90] Again, Lagarde hastens to say that "spirit can and must conquer race"; it is not blood that is the important thing.[91] But is this really his point of view?

Lagarde was perhaps the first to call Germans the "master-people" (*Herrenvolk*).[92] He conceived humanity, nationality, racial characteristics, family traits, and the individual to be a pyramid "whose peak reaches closer to heaven than its base."[93] In this way not humanity but the individual, through racial determination, becomes the ultimate object. Couple this with Lagarde's frequent references to the racial characteristics of peoples, his inquiries into the blood-backgrounds of such men as Leibnitz, Lessing, and Garibaldi, and above all his conception of Germany's history as "an unfortunate process of de-Germanization," and one must see him as door tender at least to modern racial thought.[94]

It is Karl Sturm who brings out Lagarde's stress on individualism and the individual personality. "The source of progress is in the individual man," he quotes Lagarde. "Culture is the greatest treasure of the German nation, and education the form in which culture is possessed by individuals." Lagarde requires an education for "fantasy, feeling and the will." Fantasy and not intellect is at the heart of man. Education must aim at man's entirety; it must be administered by personalities who are well-rounded, since students learn through imitation.[95]

In many ways Sturm, by citing Lagarde, has not furthered the rationalization of National Socialism. Lagarde scorned the Prussian state for its failure to promote individualities, since it aimed rather at a physical training of the masses and "the mediocrities of military training." He strongly deprecated the form of general education for its failure to suit training to personality. "We must be ourselves," he emphasized over and over again. "The great individual (*der grosse Einzelne*) steps in

90. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

91. *Ibid.*, "Das Deutschtum liegt nicht im Geblüte, sondern im Gemüte [not in blood but in spirit]."

92. Kolnai, *op. cit.*, p. 600.

93. Schemann, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

94. Further proof of Lagarde's racial preferences may be had by examining his attitude toward Jews. See *ibid.*, pp. 53–54. Bäumler (*Männerbund und Wissenschaft*, p. 28) has recourse to Lagarde for defense of his theories on the hidden qualities, "the incomprehensible something" resembling instinct that is present, but silent, in Volk.

95. Sturm, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

front of many zeros, and thereby makes them a significant figure."[96]

More pertinently, Lagarde would hardly condone present military emphases and type formations, much less the selective principle which is to produce political leaders. Lagarde's "great personality" is not necessarily a great national leader acting within a given frame of values. He will establish his own values, even though they are inevitably tempered by the "inherited spirit."

If Sturm, and for that matter all his colleagues, conceive the development of personality to depend upon racial instinct and thus upon the community, they have ample support in Lagarde. With Nietzsche, he would agree that the purpose of all training is to develop the individual within the life, activity, and "noblest aspirations" of his people. We must do justice to Sturm. When he emphasizes, and correctly, present efforts at a harmonious training and the development of inner capacities, based on a desire to "regenerate and stimulate the purest moral forces," he reteaches Lagarde. And (adding touches of Nietzsche and Wagner) education "best takes place" through "visible and tangible procedures," through appeal to the emotions, especially the will, as the real forces for creation and genius.[97]

In a more general way, Lagarde is significant because he was among the first to bring ethnological influences to man's attention. His teaching had effect because he was devoted heart and soul to Germany and Germans. A sympathetic audience was to be expected. Although his scientific judgment did not allow a thorough acceptance of the influence of blood, his quiet conviction was that it existed. In reality, Lagarde must go down as a founder of present German idealism because he refused to be unduly influenced by foreign thought. As one monograph indicated even before National Socialism, here was a man who struggled with the problem of community life, conceived from natural, spiritual foundations, as a "genuine" German should live it. Here for the first time was a real pathfinder to German nationalism in the exclusive manner that it is nowadays conceived.[98]

96. *Ibid.* 97. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

98. Kurt Klamroth, *Staat und Nation bei Paul Lagarde* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 92–93.

Among the cherished tenets of National Socialism which find fuller treatment in other parts of this investigation are the following:

1. Race is not so much a mere biological conception as it is an "intense form of life"; it must center its ideals on the noble forms of the body.

Is this from *Mein Kampf*, or Rosenberg's *Mythus?*

2. All learning must be freed from juridical definitions and dogma not of racial origin; it should be irrational, founded upon German humanistic principles, and guided by such natural concepts as activism, dynamism, and determinism.

Is this Bäumler's activist theory or a part of Landé's expository essay?

3. A restoration of a new Christianity must be effected, purged of foreign influence, genuinely *deutsch-christlich* and representative of a brotherhood of all Germans.

Is this Reichsminister Kerrl or Ernst Bergmann on the "new positive Christianity"?

4. "Every inch of Hellenic soil is sacred to us and rightly so." Greece with her "heroes, rulers, warriors, thinkers, poets, sculptors" is a model for Germany, for with her, "dumb nature wakes to consciousness."

Is this Bäumler again, or Burmeister, or even Reichsminister Rust?

In every case these convictions have found authors proper to them. But it is to a man of foreign birth that they must be credited; to Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855–1927), by birth an Englishman, by education a Frenchman, by conviction a German to the core.[99]

Although the first thirty years of Chamberlain's life gave no special indication of a coming infatuation for things German, he became soon after his entrance into Bayreuth circles an ardent devotee of Prussian militarism. This plutocracy with its policy of "might before right" made a profound impression on him. One easily detects in his essays consummate satisfaction in fatuous quotations from Carlyle, Schiller, and others who might be included in the famous circle of the Deutschdenker or "German thinkers." It pleased him to repeat Beethoven's declaration

99. Schemann says, *op. cit.*, p. 54: "No other racialist [*Rassendenker*] has made such a deep impression as did Chamberlain in his time."

that "might is the morality of people who distinguish themselves before others; it is too, the morality I accept"; or Schiller to the effect that "none but the mighty will compel fate." It was also left for Chamberlain to discover whatever traces of violence even Goethe evinced—to find in him vigorous commitments which might lend themselves to an interpretation of a new and youthful Germany.[100]

Chamberlain achieved enviable literary distinction in his reflections on Goethe, Kant, and Wagner, works which of themselves would have kept him from oblivion, but it is his own peculiar creative ability, springing from special forms of irrational iconoclasm, that will preserve his name, in Germany at least. Chamberlain's greatest contribution to National Socialist backgrounds was his exposition of the significance of race and racial ideals, particularly the Nordic ideal, in his *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, a work which achieved immediate notoriety and corresponding criticism.[101] These racial interpretations, linked as they were with the idea of Teutonic prowess, had as their source the French Count Arthur de Gobineau (1816–82) and his *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*.[102] In this work the importance of the Nordic race received basic consideration. Gobineau predicted the "fall of the West" (cf. Spengler), if the Nordic race continued to mix with the yellow and black races. The tangible and scientific results of Gobineau's work were soon held untenable; nevertheless it suited

100. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *England and Germany* (from the *Kriegsaufsätze*) (private printing, 1915), pp. 57–59. Chamberlain's support of Germany during the World War brought him bitter criticism from England, despite his attempt to reconcile both countries. The British Association could not countenance his turning on the land of his birth, and an investigation of his theories brought him the contemptible title of the "British ass." See *Ravings of a Renegade* (likewise from his *Kriegsaufsätze*) (London, 1915), p. 26 of the Preface by his translator, Charles H. Clarke.

101. Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1900 (translated by John Lees, John Lane Co., New York, 1910). Eugen Fischer says concerning this book: "Undeterred by the weak basis of many details, and recklessly changing even well-established conceptions to serve his purposes, he raises a bold structure of thought, which thus naturally offers a thousand points of attack." Quoted in Hans F. K. Günther, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, Munich, 1928, final chapter.

102. Arthur de Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, Strasburg, 1855.

Ludwig Schemann and Chamberlain to elaborate upon them.[103] It is not necessary here to attempt to unravel Chamberlain's racial logic, although one may record his conviction that neither language nor physical characteristics, as measured by cephalic index,[104] are criteria for the definition of races.[105] For our purpose it is more to the point to study the man's attitudes toward knowledge and learning. It will then be easier to understand the implications of his thought for modern education.

Chamberlain attacked the spirit of objectivity. For him there could be no science "without preconceptions," since the final aim is not science but culture. Any science not subservient to cultural ideals is entirely without purpose. "Real noble Germanic" religiosity does not pursue "teachable, ready-made knowledge." Salutary truths receiving universal credence are simply not truths at all, any more than universal freedom is real freedom, for liberty can be attained only in the degree in which man has the physical and moral qualifications to assert and exercise it. What is more: only a specifically "state-building" race has any claim to live in freedom. Personality is supported by race (cf. Lagarde), and it follows that moral laws and ideals of life must grow within the race or the community, must be the result not of objective arbitration or arbitrariness but of the promptings of instinct.[106]

In our own day Rosenberg says the same thing, except that

103. The talented Frenchman Ernest Seillière deserves mention here for his specialized work on Gobineau and Chamberlain. See his monographs: *Le Comte de Gobineau et l'Aryanisme Mystique* (Paris, 1903) and *Houston Stewart Chamberlain: Le plus récent philosophe du Pangermanisme mystique* (Paris, 1917). A trenchant analysis by a Viennese before National Socialism came to power shows that Gobineau assumed only three races, the white, the yellow, and the black. He asserted race mixing as an absolute necessity for the preservation of culture, but the mixing had to take place within the frame of each basic race. Moreover, he denounced the Vaterland system with all its "Canaanite patriotism." See Friedrich Hertz, *Rasse und Kultur* (Vienna, 1928), chap. viii.

104. Günther, *op. cit.*, p. 256. In the words of Eugen Fischer, the anthropologist who still lectures in German university circles, "the racial ideal," as conceived by Gobineau, "will force its way, even if not quite in the form given it by Gobineau, at any rate from the wider point of view; he was the great forerunner."

105. The reader wishing straightforward information on the more technical points of race theory, especially Chamberlain and his successors, Lapouge, Ammon, Fischer, Günther, and F. Lenz, should see Hertz, *op. cit.*, chap. viii.

106. Kolnai, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–34.

in his *Mythus* Meister Eckehard is given the credit for originating the point of view. The accuracy with which Rosenberg cites Eckehard is open to some question, if only for the fact that there are wholly different interpretations of what is meant by "blood counts." We are not prepared here to judge the Meister's, let alone Chamberlain's, blood theories; but there are at least two conceivable interpretations. It is true, as Chamberlain says, that some of the greatest race horses are the offspring of race horses, in whose breeding great care has been exercised. But it is also a fact that inbreeding carries with it certain bad effects which Eckehard's natural astuteness might very possibly have taken into account, had he lived to become acquainted with recent scientific contributions to the laws of heredity.[107]

Let us see, in any case, what a representative National Socialist has to say about his forerunner.

Chamberlain is termed by Fritz Peuckert "the most important representative of English humane nationalism, who set himself the difficult task of exposing those conceptions of peace, freedom and national ideology that were genuinely German." He was destined by the fate which had thrust him under the influence of three cultures to become the interpreter of German culture to the rest of the world, and it came within his province to show that Germany was not only a "land of poets and thinkers," but above all a nation of ideas, with the ability to execute them. Darwin's theory in *The Origin of Species* fired his imagination, and although he was a "modest and cautious scientist," he accepted Darwinism as a leitmotif for his historical and political interpretations. History was no longer "merely descriptive of boundless arbitrary force and monotonous coincidences." "History is fate," at the root of which is racial destiny, or determinism, in accordance with racial characteristics and demands.[108] With Kant he agreed that "we understand only that which we effect ourselves," and still further: "Words are not

107. The argument might be continued to include such realizations as the comparative lack of personality in animals. A particularly speedy race horse may not have the endurance of a nonthoroughbred. It may not have the same courage and intelligence. If racial specialists such as Rosenberg's forebears believe that proper breeding leads to certain desired qualities in manhood and to no others, then such analogies to animal breeding only weaken their case.

108. Fritz Peuckert, "Houston Stewart Chamberlain," *Internationale Zeitschrift*, VI, 369 ff.

coins that go from one hand to another, each one representing the same value; they are rather to be considered as growing within the man who utters them: narrow or far-reaching, definite or indefinite, rich or poor, colorful or colorless, all according to the spirit at whose service they stand."[109]

From this idea of interpreting words according to the man who utters them emerges the larger concept of interpreting ideas only in accordance with the race that expresses them; for man is understandable only when treated in the perspective of his natural surroundings.[110] Chamberlain was the pathfinder to this realization. He it was who, in his capacity as an interpreter of nature and natural science, discovered "hidden treasures that were to construct directive outlets [Peuckert is to be credited with this metaphor] for a new organic science, free of dogma."[111] Goethe had contributed much to the understanding of man, but Chamberlain had what Goethe lacked, namely, a sharp clarity of vision and thought, comprehending both unity and separation, and the art of differentiating. Because of this, Chamberlain turned to Kant, "the master of his thought over nature." By combining Kant's clear insight into the meaning of duty, religion, and belief in God with Goethe's ideal of a "pure perception of nature, free of causality," the "highest culture of human existence could be established."[112]

The temptation is only natural to take issue with Peuckert on these sweeping conclusions. Any assertion that Chamberlain is the happy sum of the good in Kant and Goethe, and for that reason blessed upon earth, certainly exposes itself to violent criticism. But let us examine an interpretation from another pen.

Alfred Bäumler, the Berlin professor who is a paragon of authority in National Socialist Germany, claims there is no one in German history more to be revered than Chamberlain.[113] "He was a prince in the realm of the German spirit." "His love for Germany—raised him to the level of a great educator of the

109. *Ibid.*, p. 374. 110. *Ibid.*, p. 377.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 376. Peuckert assumes, whether he wants to or not, that National Socialism cannot be considered dogma.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 378. For those wishing to examine further the sources of Chamberlain's philosophy from a foreign yet sympathetic point of view, see Ernest Seillière, *op. cit.*, chap. ii.

113. Bäumler, *Politik und Erziehung*, p. 29.

German nation." Chamberlain surpassed Treitschke by leaping the "inner boundaries" of Bismarck's Reich, and showed a refreshing superiority of spiritual wealth with regard to the problems of German politics and education—a superiority which "might have proved dangerous for any country but Germany."[114]

This is not the place to weigh Chamberlain's theory, but emphases may be noted in Bäumler's eulogy which very aptly suggest the quality of the Englishman's scientific reasoning. We are told that he had universal interests: he was creative in his thinking, used scientific material "like an architect, freely designing, freely creating," but best of all, had "faith in his own improvisations; faith in his stars." Further along, however, "the reader who follows Chamberlain can do so only with his heart and his eyes"; all exaggerations or errors of fact must either be viewed "at a safe distance" or be "completely overlooked." The Berlin professor is astute enough to forestall queries as to the validity of such a mode of reasoning. For it is not Chamberlain's facts that count; "many have known much, but have at the same time not visioned much." It is his mind, his feeling that have "come so close to us."

With regard to the main point there is unquestioned unanimity. Chamberlain is the godfather of National Socialism; there has been no denial of this. Except for a minor detail here or weight of accent there, the writings of this native Briton have become the source material for Rosenberg and his pupil, Hitler. Certain it is that the portentous theories of Chamberlain offer a fecund soil for the "metaphysical roots" Hitler urges the world to find. Witness this apotheosis of the Teuton that finds such passionate agreement in modern ideology:

> When we see those splendid "barbarians" glowing with youth, free, making their entry into history endowed with all those qualities which fit them for the very highest place; when next we realise how they, the conquerors, the true "Freeborn" of Aristotle, contaminate their pure blood by mixture with the impure races of the slave-born; how they accept their schooling from the unworthy descendants of noble progenitors, and force their way with untold

114. *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31.

toil out of the night of this Chaos towards a new dawn; then we have to acknowledge the further fact that every day adds new enemies and new dangers to those which already exist—that these new enemies, like the former ones, are received by the Teutons with open arms, that the voice of warning is carelessly laughed at, and that while every enemy of our race, with full consciousness and the perfection of cunning, follows his own designs, we—still great, innocent barbarians—concentrate ourselves upon earthly and heavenly ideals, upon property, discoveries, inventions, brewing, art, metaphysics, love, and heaven knows what else! And with it all there is ever a tinge of the impossible, of that which cannot be brought to perfection, of the world beyond, otherwise we should remain lying idle on our bear-skins! Who could help moralising when it is seen how we, without weapons, without defense, unconscious of any danger, go on our way constantly befooled, ever ready to set a high price on what is foreign and to set small store by what is our own—we, the most learned of all men, and yet ignorant beyond all others of the world around us, the greatest discoverers and yet stricken with chronic blindness![115]

Chamberlain's *Foundations* dealt with the larger field of history and politics, but it found a congenial companion piece in a work by another writer which gives special attention to the demands of national aspirations upon the field of education. In this case it was the book, *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, rather than the author, that gained wide acclaim. In fact the name of Julius Langbehn did not appear anywhere in his own creation, so that the author soon became known as *Der Rembrandtdeutsche*.[116] Rembrandt, the hero of Langbehn's book, is termed the most individual German artist. He it was who realized that the significance of German art, and for that matter all art, lies in the typical; the national, local, and personal.[117] Thus it becomes Rembrandt's duty to teach loyalty to Germany and the entire realm of things German; "faithfulness to ourselves," he says.[118] Either Germany must dominate or be dominated. She will dominate if all her people can be taught that "Volk concen-

115. Chamberlain, *Foundations*, pp. 575–576.
116. Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, 19th ed., Hirschfeld, Leipzig, 1890.
117. *Ibid.*, pp. 9 ff. 118. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

trated upon itself will prevail over all others."[119] But how does a National Socialist interpret Rembrandt's mission?

In the field of scientific thinking as well as in politics great personalities are lacking. The *beaux-arts* likewise lack monumentality and power of effect. There is no real German architecture, no German philosophy; "science is scattered in specialized pursuits." Education is retrogressive; it does not create new values, and science itself fails to represent the German spirit. Rembrandt, therefore, must show the way to German art through German personality; German science through German character; objectivity through a marriage with German subjectivity, and so on.[120]

Langbehn's thought was characteristic of the feeling current in his day. It came to be more and more accepted that education must somehow serve to recreate, protect, and preserve German personality, the sacred *deutsche Seele* already mentioned. A mere glance at the educational theory of this prewar period reveals direct attempts, which had outstanding success, to inject Deutschtum into youth training, together with ideas of community life which economic pressures had forced upon society. There was an attack upon an education that catered to industrial needs, and shaped its ends in accordance with personal instead of national interests. Pure intellectualism was criticized because it alienated man from the community to which by nature he was bound. A design had always existed in some form, to increase the emotional atmosphere of patriotism and arouse youngsters to a feeling of great pride in things German.[121] Consequently, powerful attempts were made to teach history not so much for sound judgment as for subjective reactions based on national aspiration; not as a science, but as a point of view. Typical of this trend was a remark made in 1890 by William II, who attributed the main faults of (secondary) education to lack of a national basis of instruction: "The foundation of our Gymnasium must be German. It is our duty to educate young men to become young Germans, not young Greeks or Romans. . . . There is another point which I should like to see

119. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 63–64, wherein Langbehn sees a "weakness" in Darwin's theory. "He lacks the philosophic urge . . . that is necessary for an understanding of the unity of world outlook." "He deals in isolated details"; "he leaves stones, not buildings."

120. Sturm, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–6.

121. Reisner, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

more developed with us; that is the 'national' in questions of history, geography and heroic tradition."[122] No wonder the Deutschdenker enjoyed immediate popularity.

Fritz Kellermann, writing from a broader perspective, observes that German education after 1890 took a turn for the worse with respect to national ideals. Rapid strides in industry and technical invention, the chase after money, continuous haste and restlessness, the rise of slums, all brought about an emptiness of soul. The natural sciences destroyed faith in religious mysteries, and the soulless positivism of Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, and John Stuart Mill triumphed over German idealism. The schools themselves by the end of the century became dominated by materialistic aims as a result of the industrial and technical age. The curricula of the time-honored Gymnasia with their superabundance of subjects became more notable for variety than quality. "They drifted," says Kellermann, "into compromises of genuine school ideals and practical needs, into flatness, dilettantism, superficiality, a soulless omniscience, an aimless hither and thither."[123]

In the universities the net result was an overcrowded intellectualism, complete absence of professor-student personal contact, attention and interest only in passing the *Rigorosum* or doctor's examination, and an ultimate human product with weak nerves and poor health.

There were many attempts at reform, such as the experimental schools and in particular the "elastic unity" school (*elastische Einheitsschule*) with fundamental courses and pupil-chosen electives. But here again the complaint arose that they were examples of versatility without depth; there was an absence of inner relationship of subject matter and concentration of mind. The elective system was opposed for the student under seventeen because "he chooses the easy courses and evades severe training." Under this system the "hard fiber of intellectual discipline" was lacking.[124]

Thus from 1890 until after the World War the idealistic tendencies that had characterized German schools in the early

122. Quoted, *ibid.*, p. 211.

123. Fritz Kellermann, *The Effect of the World War on European Education* (Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 7.

124. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

half of the nineteenth century were abandoned, following the "overrushed economic growth" of the end of the century. The nation that had produced a long chain of idealistic geniuses "sold itself" to large armies, navies, colonial expansion, materialism; and Kellermann gloomily concludes: "With fatal necessity, the *Kulturtragödie* of this two-thousand-year-old country had brought forth the *Schultragödie*, the collapse and the failure of German education at the time of ultimate need, in 1914–1918."[125]

In this situation there arose an even more pretentious type of nationalism than had existed previously, based on principles similar to those advocated by the "German thinkers," but in general much more violent, particularist, and self-assertive. The main line from Chamberlain to Hitler (for Chamberlain lived to give assent to the more "liberal" forms of early National Socialism) was ramified by countless branches and sidings which have drawn world notice and concern. The Weimar Republic with its liberal and universal outlook put a damper on ardent nationalism, but it could not prevent the fomentation of thought that reached its climax in National Socialism. In this connection one hears such names as Franz Haiser, Werner Sombart, Werner Best, Moeller van den Bruck, Friedrich Hielscher, Carl Schmitt, Ludwig Schemann, Othmar Spann, Oswald Spengler, and Hans Freyer in the sphere of sociopolitical concepts. Among those who set themselves the task of reconciling Christianity with National Socialism appear the names of Hans Eibl, Wilhelm Stapel, Anton Stonner, Bishop Alois Hudal, and Jakob Hommes; while Friedrich Gogarten, Martin Heidegger, and Ludwig Klages may be recalled as national moralists of the psycho-philosophical type. Others, including the poets Kolbenheyer, Kohlmeyer, and those comprising the Stefan George School (Gundolf, Wolters, Drahn, etc.), not forgetting the youthfully fascinating Hans Blüher, all present in their work the spiritual and mystic qualities so essential to an understanding of the growth of National Socialism.[126] The details of this growth are sufficiently far-reaching to demand a more specialized pen, but some points must be dwelt upon which

125. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

126. Works by these authors have either already been referred to or may be found in the Bibliography.

have a direct bearing on present educational ideology. Perhaps no better place could be found for a brief summary of certain aspects of the Youth Movement, a social force without parallel in its effect on the rapid rise of National Socialism, and a power to be reckoned with in the development of National Socialist education.

4. *The Youth Movement (1900–1933)*

The Youth Movement—the return of the German Soul to its finest traditions.

F. W. Foerster.

Contrary to general belief, the original Youth Movement ("*Jugendbewegung*") was an exclusive organization. Founded at the beginning of the present century, its aims were clearly different from those of other youth organizations, whose programs stemmed from the church, school, or particular social group sponsoring the endeavor. The striking and characteristic idea of the Youth Movement was the autonomy of youth; youth directed and governed by youth for the purpose of youth welfare. From the very beginning its creed consisted only of "strong inner motives," the "irresistible urges" of its members as opposed to any particular external ends, social desires, or educational predilections. In fact, there was even the urge to create a new world, corresponding to the "inner substance and true form of nature."[127]

Accordingly, through the first decade of its existence the devotion of the Youth Movement to "true human nature" was loath to accept any formula of behavior beyond this narrow yet visionary creed. Its members would ask: How can you formulate inner pulsation? You have it and you are moved; if it ceases, you cannot bring it back with formulas. But it was not long before a formula seemed necessary: the "Hohen-Meissner Formula" which ran, "Every member will shape his life, and the life of the movement, in harmony with his inner call, on his own responsibility and with complete sincerity. This movement will protect under all circumstances, and as a body, this inner liberty." It was not a very definite formula, to be sure, but quite in keeping with what was desired, and marking the recognition

127. Reinhold Schairer, "The Idea and History of Youth Movements," *Yearbook of Education* (1938), p. 945.

that worldly persecutions and suppressions can never touch the "inner life."

The crusading spirit is always present in youth movements. Its sponsors wander through the deserts of the soul envisioning promised lands with a better order. Youth loves to dream, and in its innocent susceptibility it is easily charmed by prophecy and devoted leadership. Under the pressure of social distress this susceptibility finds favorable growth; youth sees everything wrong, and fundamental changes seem urgent. How is one to reconcile the moral and religious doctrines preached so fervently against a background of social injustice? Why an abundance of God's gifts and yet oppressive poverty? To men preaching alleviation of social distress the movement lent a ready ear, but it remained hypersensitive to utilitarian motives, for such motives could only deny the idealistic spirit of free and independent decision.[128]

The Youth Movement is not without its philosophic and psychological backgrounds. It is well known that both Plato and Fichte dreamed of isolating youth from the influence of a debased society. In our own time, Friedrich Paulsen, professor of philosophy at Berlin, called the Youth Movement a later form of "Rousseauism," an explanation immediately rejected by the movement. It always wanted to remain something original, a "new" phenomenon. Yet an examination of Rousseau, Fichte, Schlegel, Schelling, Hölderlin, Schiller, and many others would produce ample evidence of philosophic precedent. These men were themselves remarkably youthful personalities, full of vision, enthusiasm, and creative ability very much in the manner of the Youth Movement. In fact they were so youthful in their vision that they attempted tasks of too difficult a nature, attributing their failure, as did the movement, to "outside causes."[129]

What these young men did not find, and what the Youth Movement sought to find, was the fructifying germ of sagacious counsel from older men. Among these older and wiser men one hears such names as Werner Pohl, a young teacher of sing-

128. *Ibid.*, p. 947. Schairer compares this feeling with nonprofessionalism in sport. It also has much to do with the spirit of "play" as in Defoe's dream of Robinson Crusoe.

129. *Ibid.*, p. 950.

ing, and Walter Busch, a venerated poet, both assistant masters at a Berlin Gymnasium.[130] Then came Karl Fischer, the first real founder, and Gurlitt, its educational adviser, whose influence raised the movement to social admiration under the name *Wandervögel* (birds of passage).

The Youth Movement caught on because it met a very urgent need.[131] Before long there were numerous offshoots, "indirect" youth movements such as the church and labor groups, which succeeded well enough in preserving the original formula, yet added "certain separate attractive features."[132] The original Wandervögel remained a select group with an exclusive membership, drawn from all classes and professions. Its development came of itself. State funds were never sought, for the movement wished to offer no excuse for interfering with its independence. Its entire philosophy was incompatible with state control.

Psychologically, the movement did not spring from the "ego," that "innermost cell of personality" from which the masterpieces of art and music are born. It came from the "self"—conceived as different from the ego, in that it was the link, the intermediate tissue so to speak, between the ego and surface characteristics. The aim was to nourish this stratum of self, hitherto a "dead covering," and thus enable the latent inner forces of the personality to become dynamic and expressive. Self-expression, self-activity, self-responsibility became the means by which such revitalization took place. Just as physical exercise is not an end in itself, but serves to give health and harmony to the whole personality (a concept substantially found in National Socialist ideology), so also "all efforts to bring the self once again into full and lively activity serve the higher purpose of revitalizing the inner man, the personality."[133]

The Youth Movement was not an end in itself. It had become a process appropriate to the peculiar state of human transition which, in recent years, has tended to deny automatic development to the self in its natural environment. The Youth Movement did not consider itself productive of a new culture or a new creed. Yet through the prophetic quality of its own sin-

130. *Ibid.*, p. 957.
131. *Ibid.*, p. 962; Kellermann, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
132. F. W. Foerster, *Jugendseele, Jugendbewegung, Jugendziele*, p. 111.
133. Schairer, *op. cit.*, p. 967.

cerity it had an invaluable socializing effect on individual life, in its attempt to externalize latent creative talent.

But the World War brought on a crisis, and the aftermath of material distress and political struggle killed the life-germ of the movement. Unmitigated realism took the place of naturalism, and the main body dispersed into party or church groups such as the Labor Camp Movement, which became a haven of productivity organized out of aimless leisure. At the same time the movement drew sharp criticism for its confusion of ideas, its refusal to consolidate with some form of politics, and for the danger that arose in overemphasizing youth at the expense of age. More seriously it was reproached for "mixing types." The girls were becoming boyish, the boys becoming more gentle and peace loving and losing thereby some of the characteristics of real manhood. They were wont to respond too willingly to the Platonic myth of the great god Ethos, with its admiration of mutual unselfishness, self-perfection in group contact, and education on the basis of animating friendship. Such a mode of life was considered by its critics to be abnormal and unwholesome.[134]

The practical politics and material purpose in catering to youth leagues as part of the general policy of National Socialism will be treated later. It is very doubtful whether National Socialism would have succeeded had it not offered an answer to youthful idealism by its accent on instinct, naturalism, Promethean activity, and utopianism. In many ways it is a realization of that romantic sociology which, through Stefan George's concepts of community ethos and the "exclusive circle," found great favor with an aspiring youth. Indeed, George's *Poet in an Age of Unrest* might well be considered prophetic of the coming of Hitler to restore order and mastery, and to give breed and discipline their proper place. But this does not necessarily imply that National Socialism has fulfilled these aims even practi-

134. Some vestiges of this homo-ethos idea have been attributed to National Socialism because it was founded by a fraternal "clique," certain of whose members were not at all reticent in betraying their "love urge." Those wishing to study the foundations of this form of moralism may refer to the development of the Bund idea in neo-German romantic sociology. It finds its chief exponent in Hans Blüher, a devotee of a homo-erotic order (with many Hellenic traits in the manner of Hölderlin), crystallized around the living center of a worshiped Führer and the love spell (charism) that exists within such an order. See especially his *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft,* Jena, 1921; and Werner Pohl, *Bündische Erziehung,* Weimar, 1933.

cally, let alone spiritually. One may readily understand what the result can be when evolutionary idealism, a natural and permanent element in the very life of youth movements, becomes with its temporary realization the established rule of the day, against which no further idealism is granted a place.

From the educational point of view, Werner Pohl's *bündisch* (league or sect) education[135] is properly considered to be a transition from the youth aspirations of Hölderlin, Blüher, and George, through Paul Joachimsen with his stress on community demands over and above the egoistic perfection of personality,[136] to the more confirmed ideas of selection and types in the present system. There might also be included Chamberlain's concept of "the personality of man" as made up only by "race and the ideal." This type of education demands conscious selection, based, according to Pohl, on "bodily prowess and hardening," "steadfastness of will and discipline," the "disposition to ward off foreign influence," and "the judgment of the leader."[137] Even though many of the more esoteric and exaggerated forms of bündisch behavior are now disowned, the idea of *Männerbund* or the paternal society is still a paramount emotional factor in the soldierly life of youth.[138] Alfred Bäumler has written a series of lusty essays on "manliness" and "soldierliness" which have been cited here on numerous occasions under the title of *Männerbund und Wissenschaft;*[139] Rosenberg declares that the state does not rest upon the family, but is the exclusive creation of striving Männerbünde, while Krieck extols youth Bünde as "primeval necessities," and "vital phenomena of mankind," affecting the Germans "quite peculiarly."

The practical lessons taught by the Youth Movement, though not the sole determining factor in National Socialist educational policy, certainly influenced it by demonstrating the following:

1. School education in itself is not enough.
2. Neither a higher level of mental training, nor increased

135. Pohl, *op. cit.*

136. Paul Joachimsen, *Zur historischen Psychologie des deutschen Staatsgedankens,* Munich, 1922. From *Die Dioskuren,* a yearbook.

137. Pohl, *op. cit.,* especially pp. 34–35.

138. Cf. Kolnai, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

139. See especially "Das akademische Männerhaus," pp. 30 ff., in which Bäumler gives out modernized duties of *Männerbünde.*

promotion of the scientific attitude of mind can produce better human beings.

3. "Modernizing" the curriculum is not of itself a solution for the youth spirit that tends to shun materialistic ends and return to spontaneous reticence and sincerity.

4. Humanism does not result from rational learning; youth tends to accept fundamental virtues without necessarily reasoning them out.

However, anyone understanding the spirit of the Youth Movement is constrained to realize that this spirit can hardly exist under National Socialism. A youth movement in its true sense must grow; it cannot be organized. When National Socialism coördinated all youth organizations, hopelessly dispersed as they were, it destroyed their life-giving element. Youth movements that are true and sincere of necessity lose their force when subjected to political control; it is freedom from controlled training and controlled learning, together with voluntary use of leisure time, that are their life blood—not the political programs of the day. The foundations of a youth movement are in the visions and dreams of prophets, who in their idealism challenge the imaginative vitality of youth; they may be found in the rhythmic creation of poets, so expressive of the desire that lies deepest within the soul of a nation. Hans Blüher, Bäumler's immediate predecessor, sympathetically caught this romanticism of adolescence: "Life grows a dream—the young life wanders alone in a forest—it searches for secret meanings—lyrics for science, metaphysics for physics. The realist becomes a romantic—and then—visions of divine peace, images of noble simplicity and silent grandeur-powers that sooth—serene faces that emerge, radiant with light; it is the classical ideal!"[140]

National Socialism (the point need hardly be labored) has imposed its ideals upon youth as something final; it has controlled what must be left uncontrolled if young vision is to live. More than this, what has Bäumler done with his predecessor's admonitions? He has claimed the "warrior band" as the noblest and most genuine community. The heroic mode of life demonstrates its essential feature in lavishing the highest praise on

140. Quoted in Schairer, *op. cit.*, pp. 978–979.

youth as the "heroic age of man." Bäumler does not want a civic state or a child trained for citizenship. He wants "man standing by man as in battle array." The army is the embodiment of life according to Hitler; there must be no more training of private persons, for "private persons cannot march."[141] It is in this way that National Socialism has invaded the spirit of the Youth Movement and substituted its own ideal. When Vesper sententiously exclaims that the state of today has grown out of the Youth Movement and "the exquisite virile cohesion of the fighting Bünde,"[142] he should be aware that the *Weltbild* ("universal pattern") he admits was self-created by German youth is no longer the pattern of the Youth Movement today.

5. *Educational Liberalism and the Republic*

The foregoing observations on the relation of the Youth Movement to National Socialism are not meant to invalidate the latter. There would be little point in adopting a standard of values and then subjecting National Socialism to the test. The Youth Movement had its standard of values, even its formula, but when such values are set against a background of National Socialism there is no spiritual reconciliation possible, and the Youth Movement thus suffers a complete transformation. As a force in itself, however, it determined many changes that took place after 1918, including several that have been claimed by National Socialism. In this cursory review of educational policy under the republic, one is forced to the alarming realization that if National Socialism continues to be the sole force not only in physical but in all national development, youth will perhaps never again be allowed out of its own unfettered urges to formulate new reforms for a new generation, such as those brought about previous to 1933.

First came the attack on the mechanical civilization of modern life, the heavy-handed formalism and "heavy-jowled materialism of the fatted years previous to the World War," when adventurousness of soul had been disinherited in favor of security, prosperity, and affected propriety. This attack was, in

141. Bäumler, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 ff., 157 ff.: "Der Soldat von heute."
142. Quoted in Kolnai, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

the minds of such pedagogues as Natorp, Kerschensteiner, Gaudig, Lietz, and even Spranger, new and noble in its insistent desire for free and complete development of the whole individuality; development "of all that is inherent in their own youthful souls," rather than what was presented to them by Walt Whitman's "infinite insolence of elected persons." Youth wanted inspirational teaching, a philosophic interpretation of life, a constructive synthesis; an evaluation of facts and human existence with a deeper meaning, and relation of facts to the whole of life.[143]

There were of course other elements inherent in education itself and in the problem of intellectualism which in the opinion of many had been disastrous for community and national life. But whatever has been said of German "intellectual education" before the war, the fact remains that it offered a picture of intense color and romance. The prosperity of Germany after the victories of the previous century was reflected in her school life. All the old ideas of a classical education with its exclusiveness and difficult examinations made Germany the leading example in the world of a "land of knowledge." There was glory in this education for knowledge; there was tradition in school life. Safeguarded from the realities of life in an experience bound up in erudition, students became hermetically sealed within their own intellectual world. German student life was known and envied in every country. In it there flourished all types of poetic extravagance and social customs that suggested optimism and progress in civilization. What fancies were conjured up at the mention of Heidelberg! "O to be a student when the violets bloom!" This lightness of heart and romantic sensitivity which grew up in answer to a strict and exacting discipline spread to other countries, and has persisted with modifications until today.

Postwar Germany changed many of its aspects. Dire economic conditions caused Germans to question their social order, and in particular their education. Theories of education abounded in every learned circle, and a rampant conglomeration of ideas worked their way into school curricula. One thing was obvious to postwar educators, and that was that education should be more real; it should prepare the student to under-

143. Kellermann, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

stand and meet the demands of society. Increased study of citizenship, geography, international relations, together with a keener appreciation of the outside world would prevent the repetition of such a catastrophe.[144] And so a *Neue Sachlichkeit*, a "new realism," replaced the "tearful, antiquated romanticism."[145]

The new realism was a complete break from the old idea of the function of education, and was in many ways mercilessly frank in its attack. Parental authority was criticized and often scorned;[146] much that was traditional was abandoned for the new. One hears of Marxism and liberalism; free educational choice; the activity movement; education through experience; rampant, unrestricted discussion on any subject from its elementary statement to the most advanced and fantastic elaborations. "This postwar education fired the admiration of the world. Germany was not only leading as it had always done, but with increased vigor, and an imagination and daring which had not been thought possible outside the pages of a book."[147]

Under the Weimar government (1919 to 1933) there was a conscious effort to integrate democracy and education.[148] This called for equal opportunity for all in place of prewar selectivity; a breakdown of social divisions through a common four-year *Grundschule* or "basic school," and a development of the individual within the social rather than national-political pattern. The prevailing ideals may be characterized as having certain tendencies:

1. Social devotion and coöperative companionship instead of disastrous individualism.
2. Penetration into idealism, beauty, and philosophy instead of materialistic, economic aspects of life.
3. Emphasis on the totality of psychic life including "the imponderable" (Kellermann).
4. Universal correlation, natural development, unaffected simplicity, and synthesis of life's problems.[149]

144. Wilhelm and Gräfe, *German Education Today*, p. 5.
145. Thorburn, *op. cit.*, p. 119. 146. *Ibid.*
147. *Ibid.*
148. Mary K. Ascher, "National and Social Backgrounds of German and American Education," *The School Review* (May, 1937), LXV, 367–368.
149. Kellermann, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Kellermann cites the following results evolved from these tendencies, which because of their implications for National Socialist education are quoted in full:

1. It [the Reform] has created unity and clearness in the school system [Einheitsschule].

2. It has diminished caste feeling, by abolishing the private preparatory schools; by substituting the Gymnasia and graduate university work for the elementary teachers' training schools: by placing the different types of Gymnasia on the same standing; by decreasing school fees and increasing stipends for the poor.

3. It has strengthened community spirit, by organizing student self-government, parents' advisory councils, and teachers' study groups; by instituting monthly excursions for all schools; by establishing social school activities, such as exhibitions, concerts, lectures, festivals, sports; by introducing civics as a subject in all schools; and by increasing and deepening the study of German, history, geography.

4. By establishing the four—if the *Realgymnasium alten Stils* is included, five—types of Gymnasia, the Reform has assigned one definite, restricted sphere of culture to each school, thus replacing the superficial, disconnected smattering of knowledge by mastery and depth in one field, and making the courses of each type, not ends, but means, of education.

5. By establishing the Deutsche Oberschule, it has founded at last one type of school which devotes itself to a thorough penetration of the finest German culture, the heritage of Luther, Dürer, Goethe, Fichte, Beethoven, Kant, and Humboldt.

6. By establishing the Aufbauschule, it has given an opportunity for secondary and higher education, after completion of the elementary school, to exceptionally endowed children of the poorer classes, this quite apart from the fact that the children of the poor now have the same chance with all others to pass on from the Grundschule to the Gymnasium.

7. By establishing a compulsory three-year vocational course for all elementary school graduates, the Reform has offered to all members of the people a free vocational training and an insight into the ethical aspect of vocational work.

8. It has worked out, in the curricula, good illustrations of cor-

relation of subjects for each class and adaptation of subjects to the natural development of the students.[150]

Thus it is evident that the education of the Weimar Republic led to the development of "free-personality with the right to freedom of opinion and expression." As a period of transition, its chief contribution was to break down standardized curricula and encourage variety in educational effort, guided only by outlines and suggestions from central authorities, and by the "professional responsibility of teachers."[151]

And here one must recognize that many of the educational practices National Socialism claims to have originated seem to be the direct outgrowth, even a continuation, of ideals promoted by the republic. It had made distinct efforts to respond to the natural demands of youth, arising as they did through an artificial, superimposed educational process. The educators of the republic were aware that pure intellectual training does not fit youth for life; they sought education through experience. Nature and natural phenomena were studied firsthand; and there were sincere efforts to integrate knowledge. Sociological concepts were also revised, and a social pattern and coöperative companionship singled out as nobler aims than selfish individualism. Even in the more spiritual and mystical forms of life there was a striving for greater wholeness and understanding.

More concretely, the republic must be credited with successful efforts toward unity and clarity in school policy. The Einheitsschule or unified "common school" was made more accessible to all types of youth; a process of selection was evident in the Aufbauschule. The curriculum itself was intended not as an end, but as a means for an end, which was life. Moreover, genuine German culture, the Deutschtum one hears so much about today, found its point of integration in the new Deutsche Oberschule.

Entirely different conceptions were to govern education as continued by National Socialism. Let us now examine criticisms directed against the republic in general, and inherited education in particular, and discover if possible how it was that Germany, in the eyes of National Socialists, had been thwarted in her "natural" development.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

151. Kandel, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

6. *Attacks on Educational Heritage*

A *Volk* is never lost when it understands the reason for its downfall.

MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK.

THE youth of the Weimar Republic had been trained on a liberal and individualistic basis. Such an education, say the National Socialists, contributed little or nothing toward the welfare of Germany as a whole. The intellectuals had lost touch with the people. While in their own specialized circles a certain amount of integration was taking place, there was a disintegration of education in all other elements that make for strong collective community life. It was a policy that had kept Germany in humiliation and disgrace. If allowed to continue, it gave no hope for a renaissance of German prestige in the society of nations. Internally it had failed to relieve economic pressure, social inequality, and political chaos. It had flung Germany into hopeless debt, bankrupted her in the inflation of 1923, and presented her with an unemployment figure of six millions. Not a very admirable record to the National Socialist mind, and one to be altered radically.[152]

National Socialist educational criticism does not begin with the failures of the republic. It reaches far back into such periods of educational thought as humanism and the enlightenment, and seeks to reinterpret their significance.

Humanism has for the German, say National Socialists, a different meaning from that developed and felt by other nations. It presents a twofold aspect, with relation first to the Roman Catholic Church and then to Greek and Roman antiquity. As such, humanism cannot be considered highly significant in the growth of German civilization. The German attitude toward spiritual matters was influenced largely by Luther, while other philosophers such as Winckelmann, Herder, and Nietzsche determined her relation to antiquity. For them the German affinity with Greece was direct and immediate; it did not come through classicism, humanism, or Roman civilization.[153] According to neo-German educational thought, the de-

152. On the credit side see pp. 25–26.

153. Bäumler, "Der Kampf um den Humanismus," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* (1936), V, 401–407. In this connection Bäumler cites the conclusion of the fourth act of Goethe's *Iphigenie* and the *Lied der Parzen* in which, in Greek fashion, the German sings of the relation of humans

fect of the humanistic ideal lay "not merely in the narrowing effect of its often one-sided emphasis on the attainment of knowledge . . . but in what . . . appears to be its one-sided emphasis on an individual personality." The humanistic man "emerged as a sort of microcosm, a complete self-contained little world, having no sufficient or morally binding connection with the community of mankind."[154] National Socialism claims that humanistic nationalism has led only to imperialism, and that good will and international understanding are not "abstract and intellectual" in content. The genuine nationalism, "a nationalism which alone, in the long run, grants the individual his rights," is best developed through kinship and blood ties.[155]

For the Italians, humanism and Fascism are easily joined. Italy was the motherland of the humanist movement; Italian Fascism in recognizing it is simply returning to its own past. Its philosophy is contained in the idea of the eternal Rome, the Rome that in the past brought security and culture to its people, and is destined in the future to the same role.[156] Humanism was acceptable to the French because it embodied the spirit of the times; it was in tune with French character and tradition. Other nations also were more inherently linked with it than Germany. Holland had its Erasmus; Switzerland, its printing center at Basel, and later, Jakob Burckhardt; England had its "empirists," and so on.[157] In all these nations humanism became an integral part of national life. But while Germany, on the other hand, made some contributions to the movement, its individualistic principles have proved disastrous to her welfare as an autonomous nation.[158]

To National Socialists, the changes brought about by Luther are far more salutary (for Germans) than those for which humanism was responsible. The destruction of the old hierarchy,

to the gods. A little further along he speaks of the *positive* relationship of the Germans to the Greeks in blood ties, not humanistic ties. See p. 406

154. Haupt, "Educational Ideals of the German National Socialist Movement," *Yearbook of Education* (London, 1935), p. 923.

155. Bäumler, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

156. Haupt, *op. cit.;* also Bäumler, *Politik und Erziehung*, pp. 59–61.

157. Englishmen will be pleased to know that Bäumler gives them the credit of possessing the best critical works on Plato. The English have done well, says the National Socialist philosopher, to give so much attention to Greek studies. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

158. Haupt, *op. cit.*, pp. 923–924.

which marked the end of the medieval order and the beginning of a new one, was accomplished in the spirit of Luther and not of the humanists who, despite their reverence for paganism, remained in many cases dependent on the church. Humanism with its "reverence for form, its lightness and skepticism would never have been formidable enough to sustain a decisive struggle against the church."[159]

Again, in its relation to ancient cultures humanism demands reinterpretation. Since it brought on a revival primarily of Latin poetry and rhetoric, Roman authors were favored, and real penetration into the Greek spirit never took place. Winckelmann notes this "defect" in a pamphlet on Greek culture (Dresden, 1755) in which he exclaims: "The purest springs of art have been opened. Fortunate is he who finds and tastes. To seek them means to go to Athens."[160] This was "among the first bold expressions" of the German desire to seek out the Greek original. Humanism bowed before the sweetness and grace of Virgil. But Homer's naturalness and strength are more akin to the German spirit. Pindar is closer than Horace; Aeschylus, more intelligible than Seneca. Winckelmann's work was continued by Herder who insisted that Germans realize their natural affinity with the civilization of Greece. This does not imply simply a philological and humanistic study of Greece and the Greeks, but full comprehension of the peculiar character of the land, the age, and the people.[161] In still other philosophic writing this breaking through of German genius to the Greek is very evident. In addition to Goethe's *Iphigenie* and *Lied der Parzen*, National Socialists point to Hölderlin and the young Nietzsche, who revived the tragiheroic in Greek civilization.[162]

The direct relation of National Socialism to the ancient Greeks grows out of the race concept. The Greeks are conceived as of pure Nordic blood, not mixed with Etruscan or Oriental strains as in the case of the Romans. The humanistic idea of history embodies spiritual values and traditions not rooted in any particular people, whereas the race conception does not recognize any historical values separate from the life of a people. Its

159. Alfred Bäumler, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Bäumler calls humanism a "revolution in taste (*Geschmack*)."

160. *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke*, quoted in Bäumler, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

161. *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64.

162. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

focus is rather upon the creative forces which grow out of the living roots of a race.[163]

The intended alienation of National Socialism from humanism does not embody separation from the community of European peoples. It means that Germans look elsewhere for the real community; not to the continuity of absolute values apart from race, but to the relationship and coherence of living forces within it. When races and people see each other as similar or dissimilar, they must understand that these similarities or differences are inevitable. This is the true German humanism, a folk-humanism that emanates from a supposedly deeper insight into human existence than "national" humanism was able to achieve. It does not extol the individual, but the race and people, though at the same time it grants the individual his rights.[164] National Socialism seeks to incorporate the good in humanism. It alone, in the long run, "guarantees" the humanist educational ideal of a harmonious personality, "bringing natural gifts to their fullest possible development." No harmony in the state is possible without all its people being in tune.

The age of the "scientific attitude" draws fire from National Socialist philosophers first of all for having destroyed whatever warm and sensitive elements humanism had to offer, and secondly for having overlooked the values of emotion in learning. The revered characteristics of the German scholar in this period were lodged in his ability to see deeply into life and into the affairs of the world. With all the qualities of a Greek sage, he was intellectual *in toto;* he made a tremendous impression in public life, and was consequently revered as a teacher of youth.[165] Under this system intellect became the most significant value in man's make-up. His other potentialities became less and less important, to the point of being mere objects of philosophic contemplation. This era of scientific attitude found no truth emanating from the heart, the resolution, or the will. Truth was derived only from the intellect; "it alone enabled man to see things as they were."[166] Well might Goethe be cited to criticize the education of this period: "I detest everything I am merely taught and which I cannot put to good use in my actions."

163. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65.
164. *Ibid.*, pp. 65–66.
165. Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 924.
166. Wilhelm and Gräfe, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

Another limitation in the realistic and liberal training sponsored by the republic was the complete lack of unity in educational ideas and ideals. There were no standards for the formation of human character. A realistic and positivist erudition, it "shifted the center of gravity of education . . . to the acquisition of information and abilities as external appendages useful for professional purposes."[167] General as was this educational offering, it produced no general values but rather a disintegration of educational standards and of unity in mode of life. While it aimed to satisfy the wants of the individual, it did little to fit him into the society in which he was to live. The school abandoned him, so to speak, when he grew out of it, and he was left to find his own way in a confused, disintegrated social setting. Fortified only by an accumulation of "provisional" thoughts and achievements, the average youth was stranded without a guiding arm. Lacking any background of definite values, he entered a society of isolated circulating atoms, a realm cold and forbidding, and completely inorganic.[168]

National Socialist critics also inveigh against the impotence of the educational leaders of the republic to dictate basic essentials, the "imperatives" of curricula. The wholesale self-directed experience of the pupil had no point of focus and usually followed the line of least resistance, resulting in exquisite sensations, delicious feelings of life, "comparable only to life's rare moments of exultation." They point, for example, to the delightful incident described by Zeydler of the Hamburg Experimental Schools: "The teacher came into the room, strummed a song in which the class joined lustily, and then asked the class what they wished to do next. 'Gymnastics!' they roared. All made for the gymnasium—and found other classes swarming there with the same intention!" It did not take long for the pupils to see for themselves that "some order and regulated curriculum were necessary in the interest of their own happiness."[169]

167. Haupt, *op. cit.*, pp. 924–925.

168. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9. That disintegration had set in and that intellectuals had lost touch with the people is readily admitted even by foreigners. See Thorburn, *op. cit.*, p. 121; Lancelot Forster, "German Education in 1936," *Nineteenth Century*, 122 (October, 1937), 448–449; and Horace Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–30.

169. Thorburn, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

National Socialist educational thought attacks the liberalism of the educators of the republic not only because of its chaotic multiplicity of standards and types, but because of its "love of ideas," a predilection which betrayed their whole philosophy. It was ideas they loved, not humanity. With each passing year they moved away from "human love" and inspiration, from spiritual power and the "call of blood," and turned their minds to isolation and cold contemplation of the outside world. They put concepts in the place of reality, thus invalidating the "realism" of which they boasted. What actually happened was that "indication tended to be substituted for the thing indicated,"[170] and pure thought maintained an existence independent and far above the "dull, dead matter" of human life and the external world.

Finally, National Socialism warns that any philosophy which considers peoples merely as transitional stages into a "higher" and "greater" society can never take its own people, its own nation as a guiding factor for education. When the individual is considered more important than the community, his freedom may be curtailed only to the extent that other members of the community feel is absolutely unavoidable. This overvalued right of the individual in society is contrary to the great laws of humanity, of human origin and existence, which assert that a people is not an accidental agglomeration of human beings; on the contrary, like a family, it is held together by blood ties and created by the eternal laws of nature.[171] For this very reason, a sense of loyalty, obedience, and respect for leadership is inherent and inborn in the human race. This is the essence of National Socialists' criticism of liberal education, and it leads directly to their own educational philosophy. The Weimar government, according to this line of thought, sponsored an education contrary both to the tendencies of German character and to universal natural law.

170. Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 924.

171. Rudolf Benze, *Nationalpolitische Erziehung im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1936), pp. 12–13.

CHAPTER V

THE PATTERN OF EDUCATION

1. *Hitler's Educational Ideals*

The new word proclaimed by thee; the new Volk awakened by thee . . .

STEFAN GEORGE.

Hitler's thought-content . . . becomes the platform upon which German life is constructed and governed.

HERMANN GOERING (1933).

Faith is harder to shake than knowledge.

ADOLF HITLER.

ODDLY, yet conveniently enough, the broad fundamental conceptions of education for National Socialism are practically all to be found in the memoirs of the Führer. *Mein Kampf* is indeed an indispensable storehouse of National Socialist thought of the more directly political type.[1] A *sine qua non* for this investigation, it merits close examination both by reason of its comprehensiveness and the practical realizations it contains.[2]

Although unquestionably penned by the hand of Hitler, some sections of the book were apparently influenced by his associates, among them Gottfried Feder and Alfred Rosenberg, some of whose more special theories have already been treated. The general message of *Mein Kampf* is not entirely new. Documentation for Hitler's theories may easily be found in the history of philosophy.[3] But whether or not originated by Hitler, these theories are expressed, however clumsily, in a book which is to a tremendous extent responsible for the career and destiny of a nation. Authority for practically every important statement on

1. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Eher, Munich, 1933. 2 vols.

2. Cf. Otto D. Tolischus, "Reich lives out *Mein Kampf*," *New York Times*, February 5, 1939. Tolischus was at the time a Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times*.

3. Cf. *ibid.*; also Kandel, "Making of Nazis," *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College* (Columbia University, New York City, 1934), pp. 443–444.

German civilization today, throughout the present study, may be found by turning to its pages.

The educational theory of *Mein Kampf*, though very definite and conclusive, does not confine itself to any particular chapter or section; however, Hitler is far more clear as to the program of education to be sponsored by National Socialism than as to other policies. There is no attempt to deal in professional method or curriculum planning. Here is where his educational advisers come in. He has simply set the relationship of education to the National Socialist order of things. It is the task of his aides to work it out.

Roughly, Hitler puts the aim of all education under three headings: first, the fostering of sound, healthy, "pure-blooded" bodies; second, the development of character, involving silent obedience to authority and joy of responsibility; third, the dissemination of ordinary, useful instruction.[4] We shall take up these points in turn, seeking at the same time, wherever appropriate, to interpret Hitler's views on German education prior to the advent of National Socialism.

The primary motive of the state, according to Hitler, is, as we have seen, to develop the youth of the race into a worthy instrument for preserving and increasing it through constantly healthier members. This requires that through education the state should cultivate thoroughly healthy bodies, from earliest childhood on into adult life.[5] More time must therefore be set apart for bodily exercise. The school should set aside at least an hour a day for sports and gymnastics, with special attention to boxing because it "promotes the spirit of attack . . . demands lightning decision and steels the body."[6] Physical culture is a matter for the state, whose duty it is to see that the principles of hygiene, more particularly racial hygiene, are taught throughout the nation, not only in ordinary schools but in state-controlled activities outside the school program. The

4. Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 452 principally. See also his speech "Ansprache an die Jugend," Parteitag, 1935, where he states the order of "head, heart, and mind" even more emphatically. Stressing physical education as the primary task of education, he says, "We take pleasure today at the sight of our youth, toughened to endure any type of climate."

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 452–454.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 454. Hitler later suggests one hour in the morning and one in the evening for physical exercise.

dangers of contaminating German blood with elements from other races are to be emphasized. This means safeguarding the Aryan, the Teutonic race. Not that other races do not have worthy qualities: their blood just does not mix to the advantage of the Teuton.[7] In sport, the value of teams and teamwork is emphasized, not the individual "star" player.[8]

Physical perfection will lead to joy in healthy living and to wholesome sex life.[9] When youth reaches adulthood, it devolves even more upon the state to supervise its physical development. The boy in his teens is to become a man in the army; the girl, a mother.[10] There must be no relaxation of state supervision from the end of a young man's public schooling to the time he enters military service; his education must be continuous. Through this cultivation of strength and bodily skill Hitler hopes to give Young Germany the conviction that Germans are the equals if not the superiors of any race or nation on earth. Only the self-confidence of youth will restore Germany to the position she should have in the world of nations.[11]

In defending this, his first point on the aims of education, Hitler gives short shrift to previously accepted forms and methods. In his opinion the war of 1914 proved that intellectualism as the primary aim of education is undesirable, since the army was found to be full of deserters, cowards, and bullies. Education had been producing "not men, but officials, engineers, chemists, jurists, writers," and worst of all, those responsible for mere intellectualism, "professors"! Germany had been producing bookworms and stay-at-homes.

A constant favoring of the intellectual type can have no other result, writes Hitler, than "to weaken the stamina of the Teuton." Mere intellectualism, mere knowledge produces little practical ability, very little joy in responsibility, and no capacity for will power and decision.[12] Any such educational system results in vacillation and pusillanimity. In particular it fosters indifference to authority, and encourages the pursuit of wild individual freedom regardless of the community.[13]

7. *Ibid.*, p. 451.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 455.
9. Cf. Adam Thorburn, "Psychological and other Aspects of Recent Tendencies in German Education," *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1935–36), V–VI, 123; see also Hitler, *op cit.*, p. 455.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 460.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 277–278, 458.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 262.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 123–124.

"The second task of national education," says *Mein Kampf*, "is, by using every forcible means, to foster character education." By "character" is meant, of course, a form of behavior that corresponds to the demands of the National Socialist state. Hitler grants that the essential elements of character are inborn; that there is such a thing as a born criminal, but that with the proper training "potential criminals and wastrels may be made valuable members of society."[14] The keynote in character training is "silent obedience." There must be no petty complaining if an injustice is done, provided "an authority" considers the action best for the community. While the principle of authority and leadership commands silent and unquestioning obedience, conversely leadership must assume responsibility for those who are led.[15] "With Seneca," says one commentator, "Hitler considers that it is not because things are difficult that we do not dare, but that they are difficult because we do not dare."[16] Trustworthiness, self-subordination to community welfare, and silent devotion to duty are the virtues that schools should foster. Hitler decries cheating, telling tales, and informing in class. He scolds German people because of their inability to hold their tongues. "Even the greatest secrets were betrayed to the enemy during the war by thoughtless chattering people," and "idle rumor causes expensive litigation for the state." The virtue of silence is only one of many so-called trifles which German education has hitherto ignored—another of the practical elements in youth training that intellectualism has overlooked. By stressing character formation together with physical education, Hitler predicts that many moral defects of the nation will be greatly modified or completely wiped out.[17]

The philosopher Lagarde says, "Education is the capacity for separating the important from the unimportant and then stressing the former."[18] This approach is emphasized by Hitler

14. *Ibid.*, p. 460.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 492–493, 502. The principle of responsibility is discussed at length on p. 661; p. 462 discusses "the joy of responsibility."

16. Thorburn, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 462. Valuable elements of character advocated by the "folkish" state are faithfulness, self-sacrifice, silence (p. 461), will power, decisiveness (p. 462), joy in responsibility, courage of conviction (p. 464), and obedience (pp. 459, 593). Cf. *Reden am Parteitag* (Müller und Sohn, Berlin, 1933), p. 12.

18. Quoted in Thorburn, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

in his third aim of education—that of ordinary instruction: "Youthful minds should not be burdened with information which ninety-five per cent of the time will not be used and is therefore forgotten."[19] The individual should be taught only what is of positive benefit to him and the community. Hitler acknowledges the principle of vicarious learning and transfer of training, though not in so many words, when he says that wide training and knowledge increase ability for further reception of knowledge and the power to think. But the danger in all this arises from the fact that the ordinary youth with his mind crammed full of all sorts of ideas and impressions is not able to distinguish items of lesser and greater importance, so that very often the essential idea is sacrificed for the unessential. Moreover, the greater the amount of diffused knowledge a man stores in his brain, the less he is able as he grows older to discern its more important elements.[20]

Hitler then proceeds with a more practical attack on the curriculum by taking up the subjects in turn and citing content and methods. His greatest "reform" comes in the teaching of history. History should not be studied retrospectively but as a guide for future behavior. History in the curriculum should be shortened, dates and names minimized in importance, the main value being in the study of trends and great developments.[21] It should teach a patriotism that will include blind love of country and willing sacrifice to a greater authority. It must increase national pride; ideals for the German race must be ever paramount.[22]

The same philosophy of "practicality" in education is evident in Hitler's remarks regarding language study. "It is hard to see why millions of people have to learn two or three languages which they can only partially ever use and which are completely forgotten by the majority."[23] Latin has its place, but a thorough reorganization of its instruction should be effected, so that only essentials are stressed, and the values of the subject limited to its relation to present-day living. Latin has been taught too much for its own sake. The university is the place

19. Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 464.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 329–330, 465.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 467–468, 470–471, 475.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

for extended instruction per se; the high school need only "prepare for extended study."[24]

Other departments of study are touched upon in more or less cursory manner, always with the aim of training for life in the National Socialist state, and the postponement of specialization until later. But whatever may be taught in the curriculum, one item is all-important: "No boy or girl shall leave school without a thorough knowledge of the importance of purity of blood." Courses in biology and race hygiene are to contribute to this.[25]

Mein Kampf covers a wide range of topics on education, but they find better expression in the works of contemporary National Socialist educators. In Hitler's mind, there should be a constant striving for unity of purpose and singleness of ideal. Educational opportunity is not to be a wild scramble, in which the individual does as he pleases. It matters more what the state needs from each folk-member for its own progress. The recent tendency to expand the curricula of schools Hitler considers purposeless. While the values of a general education must not be sacrificed, the curriculum should be coherent, and based on ethical, social, and spiritual values.[26] As Professor Kandel aptly concludes in this regard: "National Socialist education must be based on a consciousness of the inner unity of the people, and must be directed to a national political training through which each individual is made to realize his membership in the community whole."[27]

It will be seen, then, that in contrast to the "individualism, personal materialism and freedom of choice of Marxism," as Hitler puts it, emphasis is now laid upon the organic education of Germans for the German nation and German life. And all this demands a full understanding of the "common good" of the land—the focal point of all instruction in the National Socialist state.[28]

24. *Ibid.*, p. 466.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 475–476.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 464–465, 469.
27. Kandel, *op. cit.*, p. 456; Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 473–474, on "National Pride."
28. *Ibid.* "For only he who has learned through education and the school to know the cultural, economic, and above all the political greatness of his own fatherland can and will gain that inward pride of being allowed to become a member of this nation. And I can fight only for what I love or what I respect, and I can respect only what I know," p. 34.

The philosophy of education expressed in *Mein Kampf* has been reiterated in Hitler's speeches. But they are chiefly concerned with the broad concepts of training for nationhood,[29] and always link the aims and purposes of education with other elements of National Socialist culture. For specific information as to his views on the narrower realm of education itself one need hardly look beyond *Mein Kampf*.[30]

What Hitler does have to offer in his later philosophy is contained in the phrase, "education for National Socialism." Now that "party-people-state are one," it becomes necessary to train youth through the party to become effective members of it, since its very existence depends on fresh and loyal recruits. By educating Germans to National Socialist philosophy, there will result a better life in the National Socialist regime; but the more specific purpose is undoubtedly to insure that "the best National Socialists become members of the state administration." The new education must therefore include training for the National Socialist party—in Hitler's own words, as follows:

1. It must construct and consolidate its own internal organization and make it an impregnable and enduring shrine of National Socialist doctrine.
2. It must train the entire nation along the lines of that doctrine.
3. It must place the individuals thus trained at the disposal of the state, so that they may eventually become leaders and also faithful servants. Moreover, the principle of mutual respect and recognition of mutual rights must be upheld.[31]

Specifically addressing himself to the "intellectuals" and those who stand for an "intellectual" education, Hitler asserts:

I know the intellectual too; always indulging in sophistry, always probing and searching but always wavering and uncertain, mobile but never sure. I know that the intellectuals are only too prone to

29. Cf. *The Basis of Nationhood,* closing address at the Seventh National Socialist Congress, Nürnberg, September 16, 1935 (Müller und Sohn, Berlin).

30. Friedrich Hiller, *Deutsche Erziehung im neuen Staat* (Langensalza, 1936), pp. 5–22, contains a valuable review of Hitler's ideas on education for National Socialism.

31. Hitler, *op. cit.*

look down upon the masses and to judge them by their own standards and their own so-called intellect, and yet there are things here which the intellect cannot understand because he cannot see them. It is true, however, that the masses are often somewhat slow of comprehension and are, in certain respects, backward, not so mobile, not so bright. But they have something: they have faithfulness, tenacity and stability.[32]

This is, indeed, a poignant revelation of attitude. However repetitious of theories propounded ten years earlier, what trenchant commitments are again made for educational procedure! By law, art shall exist for the maintenance of *Volkheit*, and shall be founded on blood and soil; heroism is the element in manhood which shall guide political destiny; the task of history is to reveal the life and deeds of great Germans, their heroism becoming the model for individual personal development; intellectualism is attacked for its vacillation and indecisiveness, and (in the manner of Alfred Bäumler) for its aloofness, its love of remaining in the "realms above." But National Socialism will see to it that education is afforded the masses as well as the intellectuals. It will be a different kind of education, to take care of special qualities quite as valuable as scholarly brilliance, for the existence of National Socialism depends on the praiseworthy "faithfulness, tenacity and stability" which intellectuals "do not have and cannot understand." The National Socialist philosophy of education will be recognized by law; and by law each specific item of its program will be established, and no other program tolerated.

Elaborating upon the ultimate goals of education, Hitler aims for "folk and political unity above profession or class," respect for the nation's past, and pride in old traditions as the foundation of an education for youth.[33] A belief in "Christianity as the basis of morals," the family seen "as the core of folk and state life," and faith in God and Volk, all must be instilled into the minds of the younger generation.[34] Hitler calls for mutual understanding of all ranks and types; "a way must be found to bring them together and know each other." This is

32. "An das deutsche Volk," February 1, 1933.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, also February 10, 1933, "Rede im Berliner Sportpalast."

a "colossal task," but education knows the way and has its appointed duty.[35]

As to the extent and continuity of education, the policy will be that "education begins with youth and never ends." Passing from one type of school to the other, the young man is "first a youngster in the movement and then an old defender of it."[36] Also important for education as a never-ending process is proper control of the press. In fact, all phases of folk-life, its past accomplishments and future aspirations, race feeling, design for living expressed through the cinema, press, theater, literature, and radio constitute necessary and "suitable" educating forces. Art expresses the longing and reality of an era; heroism is passionately extolled as the coming molder of political destinies; blood and race again become the source of artistic intuition. In all realms of political and cultural life, a bridge from Germany's glorious past must be built to an even more glorious future.[37]

2. *Harmonizing the Faculties*

This education is destined to form the complete man, the complete Volk, with respect to the unity of character, physical, and mental achievements.

Ernst Krieck (1935).

The lost equilibrium must be restored.

Bernhard Rust (1938).

Body, soul, and mind present a new, inseparable unity.

Joachim Haupt (1939).

An examination of Hitler's educational program reveals three general fields of concentration: the physical, the moral (i.e.

35. "Rede zum Tag der nationalen Arbeit," May 1, 1933. Hitler states specifically: "It is no use telling the laborer how valuable he is, or proving to the peasant the necessity of his existence. It is no use going to the intellectual, to the brain worker, in order to tell him how important he is. What is necessary is to teach each class and profession the importance of others. For this reason we wish to go to the cities and explain to them the nature and the necessity of the German peasantry, and to go into the country and to our intellectuals and tell them how important the German laborer is. We want to go to the laborer and to the peasant and teach them that without a German intellectual class there can be no German life, that they all form together one mighty body corporate: brain, spirit, and fist; laborer, peasant, and professional man."

36. "Zur Hitlerjugend," Parteitag, 1935.

37. Rede, "Reichstagserklärung zum Ermächtigungsgesetz," March 25, 1933. "The Enabling Act Declaration."

character education), and the intellectual. The educational theorist is immediately reminded of Pestalozzi's trilogy of head, heart, and hand, although there has been a considerable shift of emphasis.[38] The general attitude is reflected concretely in the decree of March 22, 1935, regarding the selection of children for secondary schools:

> The task of the secondary schools is to educate that section of German youth which is especially well-fitted in body, character, and mind, so that it will later be capable of filling responsible positions in our cultural, economic, and political life in an exemplary fashion. The secondary school therefore has the task of making a choice from among those who wish to enter it, a choice which rejects those who are unsuitable and unfit, in order that the most suitable and the fit may be the more helped on. The permanent test takes into consideration physical qualities, the character and mental and national [*völkisch*] characteristics.[39]

In practice, character education is bound up with the physical and intellectual, the process seeming to take on a more or less dual aspect of the "physical-character" and the "character-intellectual." In the *Report of the German Delegation* to the Fourth International Conference on Public Instruction at Geneva, July, 1935, the importance of education for the proper attitude is strongly expressed in the closing words: "Away from specialization which leads to the development of the intellect alone! Back to the development of character, will power, and courage!"[40] But stress on the physical side as a means of developing this attitude is paramount for, the report continues, "physical exercise is important for the training of a strong will and a healthy mind."

Again the Fifth Conference, reporting in July, 1936, states that the general aim of German education in the third year of National Socialist school policy is rooted in the determination to develop "*a sound body* capable of enduring hardships, a *clean character* that knows neither fear nor cowardice, and an *open mind* that avoids every kind of intellectual trifling . . ." The

38. Cf. Taylor, "Education in the New Germany," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1933), III, 318 ff.
39. Given in *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1935), IV, 297.
40. *Ibid.*, IV, 297.

order of importance of these three broad elements shifts, however, in a later statement: "The aim of our education is still to train a stock, healthy in mind and body and strong in character." The desire to educate citizens for National Socialist character remains unchanged, for youth must be "happily conscious of its powers of determination and will, loyalty and readiness to sacrifice . . . devoting its life to the service of the nation."[41]

The trend away from a "one-sided intellectualism," as Hitler terms it, is manifest throughout both these reports, and is easily discerned in the writings of every important National Socialist educator. Rudolf Benze, for example, conveniently combines the physical emphasis with the individual's relationship to society in his statement that education's most important aim is to make every German as "healthy and as capable as possible," so that his "productivity for the whole community reaches its highest degree." There follow two more particularized statements of the purpose of education: (1) to develop the individual into a capable and healthy being; and (2) to develop him into an active member of the folk-community.[42] This purpose becomes idealized in Benze's mind: he sees National Socialist Germany striving to return to the "natural laws which constitute the foundation of the individual as well as the community." It wants the individual "to regain harmony of body, soul and spirit,[43] and develop into an all-round healthy and racially valuable human being. We do not want him to use his regained strength just for his own profit but for the best interests of the whole people." Benze insists that the Germans are not a mere accidental conglomeration of human beings, a community to be forgotten when the next imagined stage of another greater society is reached; they are like a family, held together by blood ties, and created by the "eternal laws of nature." They must keep themselves fit, and train themselves for the "nobility of great performances."[44] "The young people who will be the most valuable for the state are the ones who will be physically healthy,

41. *Ibid.* (1937), VI, 134–138: "Die Entwicklung der deutschen Erziehung, 1935–1936."

42. Rudolf Benze, *Nationalsozialistische Erziehung*, p. 8.

43. The order "body, soul, and spirit" may perhaps betray Benze's preference, or may be merely accidental.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 10, especially.

who have character and will power, mental alertness, and a strong national consciousness."[45]

An almost perfect reflection of Hitler's theory of the educational trinity is also found in Theodor Wilhelm's writings. Restating the order as "physical, mental, and spiritual," Dr. Wilhelm assures us that the training of the body is of greater importance than the training of the mind; "in reality, this is but the expression of a natural truth."[46] Since it is the duty of every German to serve his nation, he must become physically capable of rendering this service by seeking to give "a natural vigor to every part of the body." But service to the nation demands also the "iron training of the will; the courage and the whole character." While "the German does not need to be reminded that mental training obviously must not be neglected," the mind is useless unless it can "bear witness to the living organism of man, not merely to his intellect . . . but also to his heart and to his will." This resolution of the trinity of man's being is well summarized by Wilhelm in his conclusion:

> Honor, loyalty, a cheerful willingness to bear responsibility, self-sacrifice, courage, determination, self-confidence, modesty, obedience, and a thorough knowledge of all that concerns his profession; all these will be demanded of the German boy and girl of the future. And before he can hope to attain these virtues he must be, in the words of Hitler, "slim and strong, swift as a greyhound, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel!"[47]

But regardless of the emphasis put on physical education by the above theorists, it is not to be inferred that this element is in everyday practice the most important. In the supreme effort to balance human faculties, as a corrective to "one-sided intellectualism," the physical has received a degree of attention that leads the outsider to rather unwarranted conclusions as to its importance. In fact, there is every reason to suppose that when Hitler "reversed the trinity" he somewhat overstated his case. It would be difficult to find a leading German educator who would, in the long run, devote more time and energy to physical training than to other phases. Further inquiry into the relation

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.
46. Wilhelm and Gräfe, *German Education Today*, pp. 5–9.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

of these phases as expressed in other reliable works brings sound proof of the fact. Such an ardent devotee of militant National Socialism as Wilhelm Frick, Minister of the Interior, admits physical training as a necessary but not primary aim of education. In a speech before the ministers of culture, he brings out the following points, in the order given:

1. Education for the nation and free surrender to the whole.
2. The curriculum most to be desired in the National Socialist state.
3. Physical education—personal and national self-defense.
4. Education for life's work.
5. Character education.

It is emphasized throughout Frick's speech that there should be a harmony of human faculties, producing an individual who will be of most use to the state.[48]

In explaining new subjects in the curriculum, the Geneva Report of July, 1935, clearly envisages the necessity of harmonizing the physical, mental, and spiritual. Concerning the physical side, it says: "Finally the importance of physical exercise for the training of a strong character, and a healthy mind is also stressed. . . . In all teaching the emphasis should be placed not alone on the intellect but on the formation of willpower. In its training the school should emphasize the mind, the will, and action equally."[49]

Bernhard Rust, Minister of Education, in a valuable but limited essay on "Education in the Third Reich" uses practically the same words when he says, in part, "it is necessary to train the faculties of the body, character, and will just as much as the intellectual ones. The lost equilibrium must be restored." He further describes the aim of education as that of maintaining a "harmonious co-existence" of all faculties.[50] Elsewhere, the Ministry of Education has set forth the official government attitude even more pointedly in the statement that "both the training of the mind and the use of instruction materials drawn

48. Gehl, ed., *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat* (Breslau, 1933), pp. 158–160. This volume contains essays and speeches by leaders in National Socialism, and information on the formation and principles of the movement.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Germany Speaks* (London, 1938), pp. 99–100. This book is a collection of speeches and essays by twenty-two leading members of the party and state. Cf. also *Völkischer Beobachter*, February 13, 1938.

from everyday living help to develop the character of man, as well as physical training."[51] And again, from Rust, we have in summary these six demands made by education for young people:

1. Increased intellectual achievements.
2. Good physical health.
3. A capacity for endurance.
4. High ethical standards.
5. A sense of community.
6. Descent from pure racial stock.[52]

Rust is quick to remark that young persons with poor physical health are not to be left out or prevented from rising in life. However, it will be "the physically fit who will have preference." It is impossible to determine from Rust's essay whether the above six attributes are listed in order of importance, but emanating from the highest educational authority in the land, they represent an official sum total of the demands of National Socialist education, and must be studied as they form a harmony of related elements.

In this connection let Benze be permitted to modify his previous statement somewhat by reassuring us that "the school of the Third Reich, therefore, is trying to develop in the individual all racially valuable potentialities to their highest point without, however, disturbing their balance."[53]

51. *Erziehung und Unterricht in der Höheren Schule,* official publication of the Ministry of Education, Berlin, 1938, p. 14.

52. *Ibid.,* Introduction.

53. Benze, *op. cit.,* p. 20: ". . . unter steter Wahrung des gegenseitigen Gleichgewichts." Ernst Krieck, "Die deutsche Erziehungswissenschaft," *Hochschule und Ausland* (June, 1935), p. 4. See also Scheffer, *Grundsätzliches zur Neugestaltung von Erziehung und Unterricht* (Langensalza), p. 6: "The preservation of a healthy entirety of body, mind, and spirit must ever be before us as the leading aim of education." Cf. also Gerhard Gräfe: "The Conditions and Content of the New Order of German Education" in *Yearbook of Education* (1939), p. 267: "It [education] manifests an ideal of a harmonious, closely bound training of body, mind and spirit."

CHAPTER VI

THE ROAD OF GERMAN YOUTH

1. *Education through Breeding*

As a certain racial quality . . . is the presupposition of intellectual efficiency, so must all education first of all develop physical health. For, generally speaking, a healthy and strong mind will be found only in a healthy and strong body.

ADOLF HITLER.

We shall have to resort to the elemental forces of our Volk.

ALFRED BÄUMLER.

ALTHOUGH it has been shown that each phase of Hitler's educational trinity is reckoned "equally important" in the eyes of most National Socialist educators, and the professed aim is to produce a harmonious development of all three, it seems suitable to inquire first of all into the physical side since it is here that the innovations of much of the new education begin.[1] Calling to mind a statement by the Führer on the value of physical education, one finds that education is to be arranged so as "to utilize the free time of youth for profitable physical exercise."[2] Youth has no right to be "idling around" in these precious years, "wandering through the streets and frequenting picture houses." Its business is to "render the body hard and endurance great." But a still deeper aim lies, as we have seen, in the desire of the party to form and preserve the physical and racial integrity of the Germans.[3] A strong and healthy race is desired, and attention to the individual's physi-

1. Cf. Adam Thorburn, "Psychological and Other Aspects of Recent Tendencies in German Education," *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (1935–36), V–VI, 122: "Clearly, an examination of the present system of education in Germany cannot start with a description of the curriculum." See also Gräfe, *Yearbook of Education*, p. 267: "The new attitude of the German school is soon discerned by the extraordinary importance given to physical training."

2. *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat*, p. 164.

3. Cf. Gräfe, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

cal needs therefore becomes obligatory.[4] Hans von Tschammer und Osten, Reich sports leader, writes: "Physical training is the highest service of the German to his native land. . . . It is a means for the preservation and advancement of our race."[5] In the same vein, Dr. Ernst Schlünder brings into better focus the central idea of National Socialist physical education theory by stating:

The physical strength of a nation cannot be maintained and developed unless its youth is healthy in body. When its youth is unhealthy a nation will suffer racial decline, but physical training awakens in a healthy and athletically trained youth the natural and healthy feeling for bodily beauty. Such a training breaks down traditional and wrong ideas about the body, makes people realize the importance of a strong and beautiful body for the racial existence of a people, and is thus a vital means of race hygiene.[6]

The prominence of physical training in educational theory is reflected in the number of organizations destined to foster its development, beginning with the Hitler Youth through the Labor Service to the political army, the S.A. (*Sturmabteil*) and the S.S. (*Schutzstafel*), Hitler's personal bodyguard.[7] To the Hitler Youth have been assigned those branches of training that the school cannot be expected fully to handle, namely, the physical, ethical, and political. By the school laws of December 18, 1933, the youth organizations complete schoolwork "by hardening the character through an exacting self-discipline and

4. *Richtlinien für die Leibeserziehung an Jungenschulen,* Reichsministerium für Erziehungswissenschaft, Berlin, September, 1937. Some of the more specific demands are: (1) A recognition of the "moving and preserving forces" of the nation in national community, ability to bear arms, and a consciousness of race and leadership. (2) A realization that youthful character is easiest to train through activities associated with the body. (3) A creation of the fighting spirit which shall mold bearers of race inheritance, leadership principles and teamwork.

5. *Ibid.,* p. 166.

6. Schlünder is *Obergebietsführer,* "chief district leader," of the Hitlerjugend. His essay is published by the Buchdruckwerkstätte, Berlin, 1938. See especially p. 16. Cf. also Grüfe, *op. cit.,* p. 268.

7. The S.A. are the "brown shirts" or the "storm troops," while the S.S. are the "more selected," the "black shirts."

physical training."[8] By this and other decrees, the state assumes the responsibility of guiding youth out of school as well as in. Aside from the joys of camping, hiking, comradeship, and sports popularly attributed to the youth organizations, the acknowledged deeper motive is the desire of National Socialism to lead young people "back to nature, make them conscious of the soil they live on, and bring them back to the realization of membership in the German race."[9] In this way young Germans will gain new health and a "sense of closeness to their nation."

2. *The* Hitlerjugend: *the Socialization of Youth*

Youth has no rights; it has only a duty—a duty greater than right.

BALDUR VON SCHIRACH.

Our national renaissance is dependent upon an organic discipline of our youth.

WILHELM FRICK.

YOUTH movements such as the Hitler Youth are nothing new for Germany.[10] Max Kommerell, of the Stefan George school, characterizes the Germans as "*the* people with a youth movement," and adds that Germany will always have one, "so long as we mean thereby an active and independent spirit among the rising generation." However, youth movements before the Hitler Youth were founded on motives entirely different for the

8. *Leitgedanken zur Schulordnung,* Ministry of Education, Berlin, December 18, 1933: "The highest task of the school is the training of youth for service to nation and state in the National Socialist spirit. . . . The Hitlerjugend completes this work by tempering the character, demanding self-discipline and physical training. The school and the Hitlerjugend, however, have to pay full regard to the coöperation of parents in education and in the preservation and care of family life."

9. Benze, *Nationalsozialistische Erziehung,* pp. 19–20. *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1935), IV, 240, carries a report of Hitlerjugend "schooling" as follows: "Schooling, in other words National Socialist political discussion and civics, took place in the afternoon at five o'clock and lasted an hour. The list of subjects for exposition and discussion for the week certainly looked formidable. On Monday there was 'History and Election Struggles'; Tuesday, 'The German Saar'; Wednesday, 'The Occupation of the Ruhr and Reparations'; Thursday, 'The Workshop'; Friday, 'The Movement's Fight for Freedom'; and Saturday, 'The Dawes Plan and the Young Plan.' The political education, like everything else, was furnished by the staff of the youth home, who laid no claim to being experts on the subjects."

10. For a further discussion on the Youth Movement, see pp. 123 ff.

most part from those responsible for the present one. The Hitler Youth has its own peculiar characteristics.

Founded originally in 1925 by Kurt Gruber, the organization arose "spontaneously" among those of the younger generation who pledged themselves to National Socialism. In this way youth became an integral part of the movement, and played an important role in bringing the party to power. In the early months of National Socialist control, youth associations not connected with the Hitlerjugend were gradually dissolved and their members incorporated, at first by invitation and later by compulsion, into one national organization. The unification of all youth under one standard has meant the formation of a "new type" of German youth, to be processed in turn to a "new type" of manhood.[11]

In contrast to former youth movements the Hitler Youth is not romantic; it does not dwell largely on the past. On the contrary, its members feel themselves highly aware of the "realities of the present" and seem to follow closely the somber words of Eichendorff: "For our youth there is no ease of carefree play, no blithe immunity. . . . We come to birth in the midst of a struggle, and in the midst of the struggle, vanquished or victorious, we die."[12] With no other youth league tolerated, the Hitler Youth has become a creative force in all departments of life. United under one head, with common aims and methods, it is the "spirit of the community," "the spirit of the state," and as such is directly nourished and supported by the state.[13]

The administration of this group is based on the idea that "youth must be led by youth," so that leaders are chosen within

11. Between the age of four and ten the child is a member of the Hitler *Kindschaft*. At the age of ten the German boy joins the *Jungvolk* and becomes a *Pimpf*. At the age of fourteen he passes to the Hitlerjugend. The girl of ten joins the *Jungmädels*, and at fourteen passes to the *Bund deutscher Mädel*. Karl Sturm, *Deutsche Erziehung im Werden* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 137–141.

12. Taken from his novel *Ahnung und Gegenwart*, 1812. Quoted by Franz Otto Wrede on p. 8 of a pamphlet on the Hitlerjugend issued by Terramare, Berlin, 1936.

13. It should be noted that, unlike the Italian *Balilla* and other youth movements, the Hitlerjugend was not founded under the patronage of the state; it was founded before the state existed and was instrumental in furnishing the basis on which a state could be founded. Cf. Vesper, *Deutsche Jugend* (a thirty-year history of a movement), Berlin, 1935. Vesper furiously declares that this youth had to struggle *against* a state which was its "enemy and murderer."

groups, within the organization. The general theory of administration and practice puts into effect the observation of Werner Beumelburg that the young generation in Germany today is "so self-reliant, so willing, and so trustful that it would be a crime on the part of the war generation not to entrust generously to the youth everything which the latter has the right to demand by reason of the struggle it has waged for the establishment of a new attitude toward life."[14]

The essential political aspect, as pointed out by the Reich Youth Leader, Baldur von Schirach, is discernible in the underlying plan to unite all types of German youth, particularly young workmen (in the Labor Service, presumably) into an "educational totality." Although some consideration has been granted to church organizations, provided they "refrain from exerting temporal powers and confine their sphere of interest to matters of the soul," the Hitler Youth becomes a valuable agency for carrying out the state's educational program.[15] Hitler admonishes the Hitlerjugend: "You are the living guarantors of the future . . . you are blood from our blood, flesh from our flesh, spirit from our spirit; upon you depends the continued life of our nation." And again, Baldur von Schirach entreats: "State leadership is only strong in so far as it has youth behind it."[16] Declaring youth "the secret of National Socialist success," he seeks to show that the Weimar Republic crumbled largely through the influence of a "revolutionary youth movement" which had evolved conceptions of state wholly different from those in practice.[17]

The Hitler Youth, embracing as it now professedly does all German youth, represents the coming generation of National Socialists, for as is so often emphasized, "whoever has youth has the future." In fact, National Socialism does not hesitate to admit that youth begins to be indoctrinated with its principles at the tender age of six, the purpose being to effect "a single system of the training of youth in the service of a single political will."[18]

14. Quoted in Wrede, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

15. Baldur von Schirach, *Reden,* June 24, 1933; August 31, 1933; and October 17, 1933. Breslau, 1935.

16. *Rede,* Hanover, June 24, 1933; *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat,* p. 131.

17. Cf. Vesper, *op. cit.*

18. Krieck, *"Erziehung aus Blut und Boden,"* p. 308. See also Georg Stieler,

A few important functional aspects of the Hitlerjugend merit comment because of the larger philosophy they serve. Within the framework of physical education a distinction is made between athletics for elementary physical training, competitive sports, and *Wehrerziehung*, or athletics carried on with the purpose of preparing for military service. Elementary physical training includes instruction in types of sport in which every boy can participate, and is carried out by the lower units of the Hitler Youth.

In choosing the special exercises for elementary training, the view is adopted that since all boys are compelled to undergo this training, the exercises must be technically simple enough to be learned by everyone. Exercises are selected which develop the desired qualities of mind such as toughness, endurance, self-confidence, fighting spirit, decision, and will power.[19] Their purpose is not primarily to make athletes.

In addition to systematic education at an elementary level and the promotion of competitive sport, the Hitler Youth has "education for defense" as an important part of its program. We have met the purpose before in a statement by Frick on the principles of self-defense. At the age of ten the young German begins a training toward the defense of his native land, which reaches its climax in compulsory military service. There is, however, no conclusive evidence to show that actual military training plays a leading role in the physical development of the Hitler Youth. In fact, there is vigorous protest from Germans on this "mistaken" idea of its *raison d'être*. Again quoting Schirach, ". . . young people in Germany are not trained in the handling of military effectives. Shooting, practiced . . . only in the training schools for leaders, is merely with air guns and is a form of sport."[20] The Wehrerziehung is evidently a preparation for later compulsory military training, but does not duplicate it.

Gegenstand und Methode in der Erziehungsaufgabe der deutschen Gegenwart, Freiburg, 1935. Stieler defines this as the "National Socialist attitude" in education and says it requires a "new sort of human existence laden with energy, steadfastness, devotion, and unselfishness" for the good of the state (p. 9).

19. See especially Ernst Schlünder, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17. Cf. Gräfe, *op. cit.*, p. 280, which also emphasizes the coöperation of the Hitlerjugend with the school.

20. *Rede*, Munich, given in *Völkischer Beobachter*, a daily newspaper, July 25, 1938.

Physical fitness is assured in the schools by extended cultivation of gymnastic exercise and sports in accordance with the *Regulations for Physical Culture in Boys' Schools.* To meet these regulations there is a constant desire to give teachers systematic instruction whereby this phase of a child's education may also receive attention in schooltime. But recognition of the fact that many boys and girls of "healthy racial stock" are rather out of place in the "unhealthy and artificial atmosphere" of big towns where a child's faculties can only be "imperfectly developed" has led to the introduction by Rust of the *Landjahr,* or "year in the country."[21] According to this plan, children spend nine months of the year in one of the Landjahr camps where specially trained young men and women teachers are in charge. There, the children's physical health is to be improved; they are to become familiar with every aspect of country life; their will power is to be strengthened; they are to be politically educated; but above all, they are to experience the "blessings derived from an unselfish corporate life."[22] With the background of the Landjahr the youngster is ready at fourteen to enter upon a vocational career or continue his education, if he has proved himself "especially gifted."[23]

A large number of camps, held every summer by the Hitler Youth, play a very special part in its physical education program.[24] These camps exist to give their members training in

21. Bernhard Rust, "Die Grundlagen der Nationalsozialistischen Erziehung," *Hochschule und Ausland* (Berlin, January, 1935), pp. 12–13. Here Rust takes pity on the great number of children who "have not seen a cornfield or a cow." Gräfe, *op. cit.,* p. 272: The "primary function" of the Landjahr "is to allow the young man to experience, not in school, but through direct contact with peasantry, the special features of the peasant world." It is not a ninth year of elementary school, Gräfe emphasizes. Cf. Werner Fritzsche: "Das deutsche Landjahr," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1935), I, 12 ff. Fritzsche, who is the Landjahr home leader, emphasizes the fact that the Landjahr is not "idyllic romance . . . issuing from school holidays," but a practical experience in farm work where "sweat pours," and the daily bread is earned (p. 15).

22. Rust, *op. cit.* "The children become happy and healthy; they belong body and soul to Germany and the new state" (p. 13).

23. Rust, *Germany Speaks,* p. 108. *Erziehung und Unterricht in der Höheren Schule,* Introduction. In a rather curt statement appearing in *Kurzbericht,* Berlin (1935), III, 306, Rust says, "The best advocates of the rural year are the parents who get their children back in a shape not known before: 'rectangular in body and soul,' as Nietzsche characterized the new type of Germans."

24. Wilhelm Rüdiger, "Die Heime der Jugend," *Völkischer Beobachter,* Munich, July 23, 1938. This edition contains a good description with illustra-

character and ideals as well as to provide relaxation. Hundreds of thousands of boys and girls from the great towns, "who otherwise never have the opportunity of seeing the beauties of their native country," in this way come to know nature and the historic places of Germany. These camps with their opportunities for seeing nature and organizing leisure time, with their training in sports and ideas, are one of the most important means of educating German youth in National Socialism.[25]

It is evident that the ideals which inspire the Hitlerjugend do not, like those of previous youth movements, rest on individual and local limitations. Avowedly military in spirit and attitude, it is turning out a youth strongly conscious of nationality and deeply aware of its rights and duties in a National Socialist state.

But the crowning purpose of the Hitler Youth lies fundamentally in its desire to socialize youth. Consciousness of common blood and common fate has "transcended" classes and creeds to produce a unity that "overcomes all disintegration," that "does not seek worldly goods for private gain," but only "accomplishment and service for the good of the community." Says Schirach: "The concept of the Hitlerjugend has therefore become inherently the concept of socialism."[26]

Coöperative endeavor is evident from the very outset, for a great part of a youth camp is built by the campers themselves; this is also true of the miniature labor camps, toward which they are headed in their late teens. The Hitler Youth coöperates in questions that arise regarding juvenile labor, and is particularly active in supplying a proper education, largely in the trades, for its members. Outward accomplishment is visible in a series of trade competitions intended to stimulate "efficient, zealous, and happy" workmen, anxious to match their product with other members of their socialist generation.[27]

tions of the "Youth Homes." See also edition of July 12, 1938, "Zeltstadt der Hochlandjugend."

25. A description of the work done in such realms as music, art, and the theater may be found in *Völkischer Beobachter,* Munich, July 18, 1938, "Die Kulturarbeit der Hitlerjugend." "All this cultural work," says the article, "is in accordance with the spiritual attitude (*seelischen Haltung*) of the German people," and in a short time "an élite [*Auslese*] of creative artists will emerge," whose work will be "indispensable" for the community.

26. Schirach in *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat,* p. 135.

27. *Völkischer Beobachter,* Munich, July 23, 1938. Cf. also editions of July 12

Dedicated to "overcome everything that remains of bourgeois forms of expression in Germany by new National Socialist forms," all "conscious values" embodied in the Hitlerjugend carry their "Nordic character." Honor is everything, and with it are bound silent obedience, courage, and unquestioning loyalty. This youth swears to know no other will than the will of the Leader, and no greater loyalty than loyalty to him and his standard. Toughened by all kinds of climate and vigorous outdoor life, though sensitized at the same time to the arts and German folklore, the boy consecrates himself to the soldiering of Adolf Hitler, and his future to the welfare of National Socialism.[28]

Such ideals for the training of youth must not pass without comment. Mention has already been made of the anomalous situation arising when a youth movement, whose ideals are based on inner urges and spontaneous activity, suddenly receives a set of ideals superimposed by a governmental agency for the purpose of community self-interest.[29] The present Hitlerjugend is reputedly a "new idea in a new form," so that one sees new qualities injected for old: heroism in place of antimilitarism, and obedience, devotion, and subordination in place of individualism, self-reliance, and independence. The avowed purpose, we have seen, is to bring youth back to the community that is Germany.

But this is not an original aspiration. Forty years ago F. W. Foerster observed that the Youth Movement was bringing youth back to the community because it represented a moral rejuvenation of the Volk, "the return of the German Soul to its best traditions." What is new is the changed relationship of youth to the community. Youth is returning to the community,

and 16. An important article on the "culture work" of the Hitler Youth is to be found in the July 18th edition.

28. Sturm, *Deutsche Erziehung im Werden* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 138–140. "All the functions of the Hitlerjugend are directed toward one goal: the political soldier, the faithful follower of Adolf Hitler" (p. 140). "We shall see to it that this state shall become larger and stronger" (p. 141). "Youth is the standard-bearer of the state and has proudly taken on its shoulders the responsibility for its future," *ibid.* Vesper, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 194. Baldur von Schirach, *Die Hitlerjugend (Idee und Gestalt)* (Berlin, 1934), pp. 20 ff. Wrede, "Eine Geschichte der Hitlerjugend," *Nationalsozialistisches Monatsheft* (1934), pp. 829 ff. *Erlass des Reichsministeriums für Erziehung,* Berlin, July, 1934.

29. See section on the Youth Movement.

but this time not spontaneously, for the community is initiating the return; it is the community that provides the stage-trappings for youthful development, whether spiritual or physical, despite the professed National Socialist policy of paying due attention to the suggestions of youth itself.

Dr. Goebbels has always been somewhat of a champion of youth. He says for example: "Youth is always right, because it sees things in an unspoilt manner without inner check. For it, every 'yea' and 'nay' is not fraught with a 'but' or 'however.' " But is this consistent with actual policy? If youth is always right, surely there should be no necessity for the state to correct, much less regulate, its behavior. If youth sees things in an unspoilt manner, then its own spontaneity need not be curbed in favor of a pragmatic policy. More than this, suppose that youth pronounces a "nay" against National Socialism; will it be forced to retract and say "yea," or will its "nay" be "right"? National Socialism claims to be a youth movement itself, shaped by youth out of youth, but it must be a matter of great concern to the movement to know just how its theories will hold when it grows old and must give way to a "new" youth of a "new" generation.

The tenets of National Socialist educational idealism look toward a mutual association among young people that shall transcend the normal understanding of friendship to reach the higher values of comradeship. But certainly National Socialism is aware of the limitations involved. It is not unmindful of the pride the individual takes in private, superior ability or attainment. This is, in one way, an argument in favor of individual inequality—although liberalism prefers to call it "individual difference"—and present German education takes care of this difference somewhat by allowing every youngster to react according to "instinct." But what will be the state of mind of the youngster when he realizes first, that he is born into a system of inequality, in which his "instinct" must respond to "folk instincts"; second, that he has no equals, not even those within his "type"; and third, that he is to establish comradeship only with superiors and inferiors?

It is true, and the National Socialists can draw support from the fact, that unity is achievable through coördinated difference. Inequality is not necessarily a hindrance to emotional

comradeship; it may even be a stimulus. Comradeship often gathers strength when one who is the "stronger" personality serves as the patron of his humbler or milder associate. The water boy takes pride in his modest service and contact when he rushes onto the football field to assist a star player, and feels himself as much a part of the team as the player. By the same token, jealousies produced by a hierarchy may increase emotional tension on the positive as well as the negative side; they may even foster alliances. When the teamwork feeling is hypnotic enough, jealousies are somewhat diluted by general emotion and self-negation, while alliances remain warm. Accounting for this, the intimacy of comradeship is, according to Hitler, Rosenberg, and the Blüher-Bäumler school, cemented by the ethos inherent in all members of the folk-community. Leaders must know how to cultivate a "mystical affinity" from the respect, awe, and admiration bordering on devotion, if not actual love, which are the only source of real comradeship.

But may it not very well be observed that constant rivalry and vying for positions of leadership must tend to strain *voluntary* affinities, and through constant competition to reach higher ranges of leadership result in stressing the material rather than the spiritual values of community (not social) climbing? In the same way one stratum of youth and eventually adults may become reconciled either through frustration or failure to positions of mediocrity, and thus be condemned to an empty life.

To put it more bluntly, an educational procedure advocating privileged groups cannot fail to undermine the ideals of "natural" comradeship set up by National Socialism, since it tends to cultivate envy, competition, sometimes frustration, very often jealousy and resulting hostility, in just about the same measure as it fosters all the "finer qualities."

But before carrying such reflections further, it will be necessary to examine the forms of development and training of youth immediately following the period covered by the Hitlerjugend.

3. Arbeitsdienst: *Education through Labor*

We wish, at a time when millions of us are living without understanding the real importance of manual labor, to teach the German nation once

more, through the institution of labor service, that manual labor does not degrade or dishonor but rather does honor to everyone who performs it faithfully and conscientiously, as does any other work.

ADOLF HITLER.

The idea of compulsory work service will ever prevail, for it is applied National Socialism.

KONSTANTIN HIERL.

THE *Arbeitsdienst* (Labor Service) continues the work of the Hitler Youth, its educational tasks being practically the same. Under its standard and within its ranks, the political German is fashioned to the mold. Through exercise, habit, and effort, and through education for physical training and self-defense, youth is further trained in "those matters of character development which the intellectual education of the school does not afford."[30]

Proceeding on the principle that "work ennobles," the Labor Service embodies both idealistic and economic aspects, which tend in actual practice to become unified. The "nobility of work" epitomizes not only the will to work but also the general conception of National Socialism on the subject.[31] As a continuation of the Hitlerjugend, the socialistic aspect of the Labor Service is readily recognizable as its leading motive. Heinz says, "The first and most important business of the Arbeitsdienst is to organize and coördinate the enormous energy of [our] entire youth . . ., and bring it to bear effectively where

30. Sturm, *op. cit.*, pp. 140–141. The Decree of June 26, 1935, runs: "National Labor Service is a service of honor to the German Reich. All young Germans of both sexes are obliged to serve their nation in the Labor Service. The function of this service is to inculcate in German youth a communal spirit, a spirit of community of the nation and a true concept of the dignity of work, and above all, a proper respect for manual labor. The Reich Labor Service is allotted the task of carrying out work for the good of the whole community."

31. *Ibid.*, p. 143. In his speech of May 1, 1933, *op. cit.*, Hitler explains: "It is our firm determination that every German, whoever he may be, rich or poor, son of a professional man or of a factory worker, shall once in his life be a manual laborer, in order that he may learn what manual labor is and that he may be able more easily to command because he himself has learned to obey. . . . Brain worker and laborer must never again stand in opposition to one another. That is the reason we are rooting out the silly pride which so easily takes possession of the individual and makes him look down upon his comrades who 'only' stand at the carpenter's bench or by the machine or walk behind the plough. But not only must every German become acquainted with this kind of work, the laborer must also realize that brain work is necessary too."

wanted."[32] Fritz Edel claims with even greater clarity that the leading task of the Arbeitsdienst is "to unite the youth of the nation into a real community, irrespective of class distinction." Shoulder to shoulder in coöperative effort, "sons of miners, civil servants, professors, and farmers" learn the "practical significance of the words nation and socialism."[33]

Coöperative enterprise through labor in its roughest forms is the method of achieving the desired socialism, labor thus becoming a talisman for the training of National Socialists. Through labor the physique of the young manhood of Germany is improved, the benefits remaining with them through life and being propitiously reflected in the next generation.[34]

The first labor camps arose in connection with the Youth Movement just after the World War. Their numbers swelled with the increase of unemployment, and gave evidence of the desire of young people to find employment for themselves in tilling the soil. However, in contrast to the present socialized form these camps were largely individualized, students forming one camp, workers another, and peasants another. They were chiefly an answer to the dilemma of unemployment.[35] Largely through the efforts of Konstantin Hierl, the present Reich labor leader who saw tremendous possibilities for the extension of National Socialist principles, the movement became an official

32. Heinz A. Heinz, "Scope and Aims of the Labor Service," *Germany and You* (Berlin), VII, No. 8, 193.

33. Fritz Edel, *Der deutsche Arbeitsdienst* (Berlin, 1937), p. 2.

34. Decker, *Der deutsche Arbeitsdienst* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 7–8. Excerpts of Hitler's speech, May 1, 1933, Berlin on the Arbeitsdienst as "School of the Nation" are to be found on p. 8. Wolfgang Scheibe, *Aufgabe und Aufbau des Reichsarbeitsdienstes* (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 17–18. This book is a concise ready reference and outline of nearly every phase of the Arbeitsdienst. Scheibe is *Oberfeldmeister*, so that his work is highly authoritative.

35. Edel, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–6. Hierl writes: "Labor Service signifies something different, something greater than a temporary measure arising from the distress of the time for the purpose of combating unemployment. The idea of compulsory labor service is a logical development and fulfillment of the idea embodied in compulsory education and national military service. Every German must work for his country and fight for the defense of his country. Compulsory labor service must become a duty of honor for German youth in the service of the nation. Its purpose must not become a competitive undertaking carried on by the state for the purpose of forcing down the level of wages. Through the compulsory Labor Service the national government will have at its disposal a working army that will carry out great public works to serve the economic interests of the nation, as well as its cultural and other public interests."

part of the National Socialist program three years before Hitler came into office.[36]

As one might expect, there has been a deluge of all types of literature on the various phases of the Arbeitsdienst, but one of the most useful and straightforward expositions of its theory and practice is Dr. Wolfgang Scheibe's publication, *Aufgabe und Aufbau des Reichsarbeitsdienstes*.[37] Here Scheibe outlines the mission of work service in the manner of a theorem in Euclid. The slogan, "work service is community education," represents not only theory but actual practice. Unlike school education, this type of education involves an economically necessary task, "thrusting the young German into the practical position of working the soil as a means of aiding his people in their struggle for existence." Scheibe continues very pointedly: "The Arbeitsdienst penetrates the mind with the spirit of National Socialism" and prepares youth for "healthy, strong, and ever-ready participation in the racial state." The National Socialist attitude is formed by "teaching the combined rudiments of life as a soldier, a peasant, and a laborer."[38]

Scheibe, in line with the general tendency of his colleagues, divides the educational tasks of the Arbeitsdienst into two fields: physical and "character-intellectual." Echoing Hitler, Scheibe sees physical education as the principal duty of the Arbeitsdienst, and formulates its goal as threefold: the promotion of health, strength, and capacity for endurance with "toughening and ever-increasing [physical] accomplishment"; the "production or preservation of the natural movement and charm of the body," wherein unnatural strain and overindulgence are to be avoided; and finally, the cultivation of a body which "in its every movement shall be unconditionally responsible to the spirit and will of man." The methods of attaining these educational ideals are: by daily physical routine "on location"; by specialized exercise supplementing that of practical labor and

36. The government gave legal sanction to a volunteer labor service in 1931 and extended its recognition year by year. In the spring of 1934, the *Deutsche Studentenschaft* (German Student Union) voted to make labor service compulsory for all students before entering a university. On June 16, 1935, the government made it compulsory for all men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, Germany thus becoming "the first country in the world to add compulsory labor service to compulsory school education," Wilhelm and Gräfe, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

37. Leipzig, 1938.

38. Scheibe, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–21.

correcting any muscular tension or deficiency; and lastly, by military practice because it "fosters a good soldierly bearing, and puts the mind in control of the body."

Throughout Scheibe's exposition one is confronted with the proposition that physical training shall be the foundation of character education. Character education is developed from the realms of work-education, service, community training, festivals, landscape and soil, and political instruction. The theory behind education in these fields involves such catch phrases as "the value and nobleness of labor," "service to the community," "coöperation in labor among young people of all professions and types," "labor and its folk values," "manual work as a necessary complement to mental work," "education for proper membership in a folk-community," "comradeship as the necessary condition for ethnic unity," "the expression in song and story of a new style of living," "the ethnic cultural life of our people," "the new attitude and relationship toward nature," "practical experience and participation in the transformation of our native soil and earth," "back to the land," "the influence of the land on our people," and so on.[30]

The purpose of instruction in the Labor Service is to render man conscious of his ties with, and duties toward his people, and to strengthen these ties and duties through conditioned learning and appropriate experience. Political education, resting on the principles of labor, service, and communal endeavor, is to be established firmly by instruction in the new philosophy of life, the new conception of things, or Weltanschauung. The mission and tasks of the Reich Labor Service, the German homeland (*Heimat*, including the sense of "environment"), and the German people in its history and living present, as well as the philosophy and accomplishments of National Socialism, are all subjects of this instruction. Regular classes at regular intervals with camp leaders as instructors follow an authoritative course of study emitted from the central bureau of the Reich Labor Service.

Scheibe is not, of course, the final authority on the Arbeitsdienst; one may easily find similar ideas expressed in many other sources. Dr. Junack, for example, lists two great objectives: "to coöperate in and secure the nutrition of the nation,"

39. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

and "to be the great social and cultural school of the nation."[40] Will Decker, a leading authority on education in the Arbeitsdienst, writing on the methods of education ensuing from the task of the Arbeitsdienst, says they are new "because the task is new. . . . Germany is the first state in the world to attempt the training of a whole nation toward a new evaluation and a new conception of labor."[41]

In a rambling and blissful essay on the political task of the Labor Service, Decker praises communal education of this type as "the only principle in the formation of a unified political will."[42] Again in a much more mature and thorough work, Decker affirms in the manner of Krieck, "Everything real is bound inseparably to the earth. From it grows the strength of nations. From it alone can lost strength be recalled." And immediately following: "The introduction of German youth to German soil is the most genuine principle for the fulfillment of the educational duties set for Germans by National Socialism."[43] Finally, Konstantin Hierl, leader of the Reich Labor Service, states succinctly: "For us, the working man is the crown of creation, and our native soil is sacred, it is our fatherland. . . ." The Labor Service is called "to weld together our youth through hard, respectable, and coöperative labor for folk and country."[44] Pointing out that the Labor Service has a far greater significance than that of mere transitory unemployment relief, Hierl continues, "The idea of service in the Arbeitsdienst signifies the logical development and necessary fulfillment of thoughts which have led (at one and the same time) to universal compulsory schooling and universal compulsory military service."[45]

The educational aims of the Labor Service must be realized within six months' time,[46] but the results are meant to endure a

40. Unpublished lecture attended by author at the University of Munich, Summer, 1938. Résumés were distributed to the audience.

41. *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1937), VI, 304.

42. Decker, *Die politische Aufgabe des Arbeitsdienstes* (Berlin, 1935), p. 8.

43. Decker, *Der deutsche Arbeitsdienst* (Berlin, 1937), p. 7.

44. Konstantin Hierl, *Der Geist des Arbeitsdienstes* (Berlin), pp. 5–7. See also his *Grundsätzliches zur Arbeitsdienstpflicht*, Munich, 1934, which is short and much to the point.

45. *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1937), VI, 16, Heft 4–5.

46. Upon application, this period may be increased to twelve months. Incidentally, there have been more applications than can be accepted.

lifetime. Untouched by external influence, bound together in comradeship beneath the sign of labor and service, the young German holds this adventure in "cherished and precious remembrance." In the sentimental words of Will Decker: "This memory shall remain forever, so that out of the beautiful comradeship of six months of work service, the unswerving will shall grow to protect and preserve the folk-community as the most valued of possessions," for now the young German realizes that he has worked side by side with each fellow-member of his country and race, "furrowed the land, stood before his Führer at Nürnberg, and marched side by side through city streets." Though ultimately he may be separated from his comrade, comrades they are, and comrades they shall ever remain.[47]

Thus the Labor Service trains young Germans into a national community in the spirit of National Socialism, and leads them to respect and find "real values" in work. It is a duty of honor, a service rendered to the Reich. With self-admitted economic purpose, its principal object according to quoted sources is to enable men to enjoy the educational advantages of working side by side with spade and shovel, of mastering the same tasks together, and of devoting all their energies to a labor which shall be clearly for the good of the whole nation.[48] The Arbeitsdienst is to be employed only on work of a "high economic and cultural value" which cannot be executed through the normal channels of paid labor. There is, professedly, little or no competition with the ordinary labor market.[49]

While the military aspect of the Labor Service remains some-

47. Decker, "Methoden der Erziehung im Reichsarbeitsdienst," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1937), VI, 280–281.

48. Theodor Wilhelm's *German Education Today* has a short section in English on "Labor Service" (pp. 29–32). Wilhelm attempts to answer "misunderstandings" with regard to the real purposes of the Labor Service. He writes: "Just as in wartime it is the duty of every young German to serve his country with his weapons, so also it is his duty in peacetime to serve his country with his spade." Just how the conclusion of this remark is derived from the premise is hard to determine.

49. See Heft 4–5, VI (1937) of the *Internationale Zeitschrift,* which is devoted to the many phases of Arbeitsdienst. There are two articles (in English) by Americans on the American C.C.C. which offer a good opportunity to the reader who may wish to compare the American with the German movement. Other works of the more ambitious type are represented by Paul Seipp, *Formung und Auslese im Reichsarbeitsdienst,* Berlin, 1935; and Alfred Krueger, *Der Reichsarbeitsdienst als Baustein zum Dritten Reich,* 1934.

what veiled, there is definite and admitted evidence of it.[50] Karl Sturm goes on at length to defend the "soldier-student" idea, since the demands upon soldiers of "punctuality, order, cleanliness, obedience, comradeship, sense of duty, responsibility, decisiveness, and loyalty" represent desirable qualities in any member of a community. Though education in the Arbeitsdienst is devoted primarily to physical training, the intellect is never slighted, because of the "necessary sharpness of senses" involved in the nature of modern warfare.[51] Just how much "soldiering" is done as compared with labor is a matter of conjecture even among German authorities.[52] To be sure both are present, and it is perhaps not premature to assume that the original aim of "work service" is giving ground to military preparedness. Even a cursory examination of the Arbeitsdienst in practice would reveal this to be the case.

4. Wehrpflicht: *Comradeship in Arms*

Readiness to bear arms is the basis of the whole structure of our national being.

ALFRED BÄUMLER.

The character of every healthy German boy is inherently receptive to military education. In him there lives as a racial inheritance the love of soldiering.

WILHELM RÜDIGER (1934).

Military education has nothing to do with being prepared for war, but is meant to serve the cause of peace.

DR. KLUG, director of Educational Problems in the War Ministry (1936).

As the Labor Service follows and supplements the Hitler Youth, the storm troops, including the Schutzstafel (S.S.)

50. Hans Willi Ziegler, *Wehrerziehung im neuen Geiste*, 1935. This book betrays clearly the conceived benefits and necessities of military training in the Arbeitsdienst especially. See pp. 38–39 which advocate a military training in anticipation of entrance into the *Reichswehr*, or regular army.

51. Sturm, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

52. Cf. Decker, "Labor is the strongest factor in the education of the Arbeitsdienst," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1937), VI. U.S. Office of Education, Bull. 15, 1938, entitled "Education in Germany," Alina M. Lindegren, specialist and author, concludes in its investigation: "The labor service is primarily an educational activity, not a disguised military service or an economic remedy for unemployment" (p. 33). See also Great Britain Board of Education, "Physical Education in Germany" (London, 1937), p. 60.

and the Sturmabteilung (S.A.), form a sequel to the Labor Service. Karl Sturm, in his straightforward and forceful manner, claims compulsory military training as the climax of all German education: "The army was the last, the highest step in German education, the most powerful school of the German nation, and it now has returned to its old position; for everything that Germany is, or shall be, she owes to the army."[53]

Education in the army is, as one might expect, concentrated primarily upon physical training, the intellectual aspects being dealt with only as an unavoidable complement for the "necessary sharpening of the senses," a phrase so often used nowadays in German education.[54] Schooled for service to National Socialism through the Hitlerjugend and the Arbeitsdienst, the soldier now becomes inspired with a "symbolic, political idea," as it is reverently termed. By this is meant presumably that the ideas of National Socialism can continue only so long as there is effective force, spiritual and physical, behind them. In fact, Sturm frankly admits that the new training is meant to "instill what was missing in the old army," in order that "the streets may be controlled" when necessary in behalf of the movement.[55]

More moderately, Sturm sees as inherent in the physical education of the soldier the values of strict discipline, obedience, and unequivocal faith in National Socialism: "Physical training becomes the means for inoculating the individual with the conviction of his superiority, and of giving him that confidence which ever lies in the knowledge of his own strength." Therefore, all physical accomplishments, not only in military exercise but also in sport, have as their primary purpose self-defense and willingness to bear arms.[56] Unlike its two preceding groups, the S.A. does not assemble in camps. Its members are, as a rule,

53. Sturm, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

54. Oswald Kroh, *Erziehung im Heere*, pp. 12, 14. Also Sturm, *op. cit.*

55. *Ibid.*, p. 143. Sturm goes on to explain that the creation of the S.A. was an idea of Hitler, the latter realizing that he could not expect support from the "old army" with its fixed political ideas. The S.A. served, therefore, the double purpose of protecting National Socialism and of acting as a means for education in the precepts of the party. Sturm proudly points to the S.A. as the example for every youth in National Socialism, since enlistment was voluntary and no law forced incumbents to remain within the ranks. They enlisted for love of service to National Socialism.

56. *Ibid.*

in regular civil employment, and therefore use their leisure hours for this activity.

One of the most outstanding attempts to enlighten the German public on the value of military education is Dr. Hellmut Stellrecht's essay, *Soldatentum und Jugendertuchtigung* (*Soldierliness and Youth Training*—two good examples of neo-German neology!).[57]

Lamenting the defeat of Versailles due to a disunited and untrained Volk, Stellrecht, a "senior district leader" of the party, looks for the resurrection of "premilitary" education in the form of gymnastics and sports. He points to England whose young men were trained for war, directly or indirectly, through light athletics, football, boxing, Boy Scouts (originating from the Boer War), and elementary principles of warfare. In fact, "the British Boy Scout movement was the premise which made it possible for the Kitchener army of 1915–16 to be sent into action." "It would otherwise never have been possible for England to organize and train an army for immediate action as rapidly as she did."[58]

57. A publication of the *Hochschule für Politik*, Berlin, 1935. National Socialist thought and terminology differentiate sharply between *"Soldatentum"* and *"Militarismus."* Cf. Theodor Wilhelm, *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1939), p. 99; and Herbert Scurla, "Militarismus und Soldatentum," *Hochschule und Ausland* (Berlin, February, 1935), pp. 1–11. These authors seek to show that being *"soldatisch"* is being "manly"; soldatisch does not mean "military" and has "nothing to do with blood and cannons" (Wilhelm). Says Scurla: "Militarism is a political means of fortifying one's country through land and sea armaments with the intent to attack or defend. . . . It is an instrument born out of a last extremity." On the other hand, Soldatentum is a "disciplined attitude on the part of a people" (mostly pertaining to Germans) which is necessary for proper unification as a Volk. "The German Volk lives in a soldatisch manner because in this way it lives out, and at the same time realizes, its folkish ideals" (p. 9). This is perhaps just another way of saying that National Socialism advocates a disciplined social order. The December, 1934, issue of *Hochschule und Ausland* has two essays on the inner meaning and purpose of Soldatentum under the general title of "Soldatentum: Erlebnis und Bekenntnis." Cf. also Alfred Bäumler, *Männerbund und Wissenschaft*, pp. 63–64, for further differentiations. On p. 14 Bäumler writes: "What is Militarismus? Militarismus is heroism [Heroismus] with a bad conscience [schlechtem Gewissen]." Joachim Haupt defends the soldatisch type of education against any accusation that it is a counterpart of professional military training. The soldatisch training, says Haupt, "is aimed at turning one's attention to the state, at the disciplining of the individual to proper membership in the state, and at the acquisition of those socialistic forms of life that are necessary to make us a people." *Neuorduung im Schulwesen und Hochschulwesen* (Berlin, 1933), p. 24.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

Like an old soldier spinning a yarn to young hopefuls around the fireside, Stellrecht advises German youth not only to follow England's example but to cultivate a "lightning grasp of any situation." The soldier who simply acts without thinking is past and gone. Rapid perception, accurate decision, ready mobility —these three qualities are of primary importance in the education of the soldier. Personal courage, complete self-control, heroic attitude, endurance and toughness are all part of a soldierly character training, for "spiritual superiority wins more victories than armaments." "*Our nation will win by the superiority of intellect of each individual soldier.*" From the Hitlerjugend up this must be the watchword. A soldier is not educated to die; he is educated to be victorious.[59]

Viktor Lutze, chief of staff, writes more cleverly on military power and political soldiery. After a lengthy defense of the leadership principle, and of Hitler in particular, Lutze affirms: "The tragedy in the long history of the German people is that it has seldom had real leaders."[60] Not that it lacked military leadership. What was lacking was political leadership, the political idea, the Weltanschauung that National Socialism gives.[61] The S.A. man as a political soldier is the bearer of this Weltanschauung, this National Socialist idea. "Political soldiery is the foundation of the state."[62] Education must therefore lead to a spiritual, intellectual, and physical (note Lutze's order) fitness for military service to the German Volk:

> Faith, comradeship, coöperation [*Hilfsbereitschaft*, literally "readiness to help"] are spiritual virtues. Knowledge of the movement and German history are intellectual virtues. Dexterity of motion and endurance in sport and in service are physical virtues. Not until the harmonious union of these virtues has been reached will the experienced soldier, the fighter for National Socialism, be created.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–19. "*Siegen will er! Siegen! Und nochmals siegen!*" Stellrecht's concluding paragraph is wholly a part of the general picture: "We know that nobody will safeguard peace more than the soldier who knows war and its horrors. Therefore, the best protector of peace for us in Germany is the soldier of the World War, the leader Adolf Hitler."

60. Viktor Lutze, "Wehrmacht und politisches Soldatentum," Heft 13 of *Hier spricht das neue Deutschland* (Munich, 1937), p. 11.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

In his peroration Lutze places the fate, honor, and freedom of the German Volk and National Socialism first in the hands of Adolf Hitler as leader and "genius among statesmen," and second, in the care of this political soldiery and the army.[63]

Adolf Hitler himself strikes a prophetic and optimistic note in one of his speeches before the S.A. when he proclaims: "We shall see to it that the community of the German people is guaranteed by youth education to remain a political entity for centuries to come." Education for National Socialism becomes, therefore, the task of the S.A., for "if the army is to be the arms-bearer of the nation, then it must also be bearer of the nation's will, the active and formulative political standard-bearer of the German nation."[64]

It would serve little purpose to add further citations from the educational theory of the army. It is obvious that what began as theory, sport, and play for the ten-year-old in the Hitlerjugend matures into practice and solid purpose when he is twenty. Under the general term "physical education" the body is conceived as the starting point in the development of the individual for service in the community of the nation. A consciously political-educational policy, achieving such ends as the maintenance of national health and a "fresh and happy life in the national community," it is nevertheless a program for military preparedness within a spectacular regenerating movement of the German people.[65] While other sections of Germany's educational program prepare "scholars," certainly this branch prepares "soldiers," whether for active service or not.

In this connection it would be unfair not to mention military education per se, as conceived by Professors Banse, Ziegler, and Schmitthenner. The theory of these men is certainly not general

63. *Ibid.*, p. 23. See also R. Münch, "Physical Education in Germany," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1938), VII, No. 6, 467–468.

64. *Rede*, May 8, 1933, before a meeting of the S.A. in Kiel; found in *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat*, p. 50.

65. A more technical discussion of physical education may be found in *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1936), IV, 6, in an article by Max Momsen entitled, "Die Leibeserziehung in Deutschland," pp. 317–326. John Dambach has written a doctor's thesis on *Physical Education in Germany*, Columbia University, 1937, about one third of which is devoted to a fairly objective study of the situation under National Socialism (pp. 68–97).

practice in Germany today, although there is no denying that much of it has been received sympathetically. This fact should be strongly borne in mind, since many critics of German education have hit upon the futurist theories of military-minded educators as representing what the "new" education actively sponsors. Yet there is no intention here to shy away from the awareness that military science is becoming more and more an actual part of National Socialist schooling.

Professor Banse will no doubt be remembered as the perfervid, rough-hewn literary militarist who used such extreme language, and whose ideas were so violent that public sale of his books had to be prohibited. (It was he who called the internationalist "a bastard in blood and a eunuch in intellect.")[66] However, Professor Banse still occupies the first chair in a recently created "Military Science Department," and from this position his influence has been far-reaching, particularly in university circles. The latest military enterprises of his country have more than compensated for whatever disfavor he may have suffered, his geopolitics affording valuable theory for military circles today.

Banse has written three outstanding books on military affairs, the technicalities of which cannot form part of this discussion. Instead, a brief summary may be given of the implications of Banse's theories for the realm of education. In the Introduction to his *Raum, Volk und Weltkrieg*,[67] Banse calls upon Germany to realize that only "our nation must form the center of thinking"; nationalism should be the aim of Germans for "the internationalist cannot be pure of blood." In the duel between the pen and the sword, the sword must prevail because "it is older, and in the end the only decisive thing." The age to come, the "iron age," is bound to unite all German-speaking people in Central Europe into a common state. This state will be forged together through blood and iron—hence the need for education to prepare for it. Banse then defines military science: "This science we define as instruction about peoples and countries . . . with the object of increasing one's own military strength." By this instruction the Germans will be prepared "to

66. Ewald Banse, *Raum, Volk und Weltkrieg*, Berlin, 1932.
67. (*Territory, People and World War*) *cit. supra.*

await coming wars with greater understanding and confidence than they did the World War."[68] Every branch of human knowledge "from chemistry to psychology" must be drawn upon in support of military science; not a study similar to that found in military schools, but a science that is concerned with the whole people, a science that "seeks to build up a heroic, spiritual understanding of modern war, and establish its prerequisites." This science is to be part of the national philosophy, and "the first and leading science in German territory."[69] Proposing a concrete program, Banse advocates that "every student should be obliged to spend two terms studying [all aspects of] military science," and for this purpose "chairs in military science should be established." Instruction should take place in the final two years of the elementary school and in the secondary and higher schools.[70]

The second book in Banse's military trilogy, *Science of Defense*, was intended as an introduction to the study of military science in educational institutions. The state is the guardian of the national essence (*Volkheit*) including the mother tongue and all those elements which might be included in the general term Kultur. Military science is therefore a training for the whole of the people, for the soldier and the scholar, for the adolescent and the teacher. This science will become a new national ethic, a belief in the "deeper meaning" of war, and will create a "uniform desire for war and victory as an indispensable condition of national independence." As a result of such training the German youth will be initiated into the ideals of "Germandom" and exhorted to stand unflinchingly for national self-assertion.[71]

Banse reaches his climax, at least for militarists, in his work, *Geography and the Will for Defense*.[72] Here again the professor stresses a need for mental preparation of the whole people in the "supreme conception" of "welding the nation together"

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26. 69. *Ibid.*, pp. 404–405.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 411. Recent measures are favoring Banse. See under chap. viii. Incidentally, Banse received his chair six months after he wrote this book, March, 1933.

71. Banse, *Wehrwissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1933), p. 5, principally. This book is reviewed in *Geo-Politik*, November, 1933.

72. Banse, *Geographie und Wehrwille*, Berlin, 1933.

to a "feverish mass of blood and iron."[73] However, for this investigation an article published shortly after the above book, and based on the geopolitics therein expressed, is more to the point. Banse writes to the effect that the whole nation should be raised to the "heroic sense" by which their forefathers in the old Roman days acquired the reputation of *Furor Teutonicus*. The principle of giving one's life for the life of the nation must be hammered into youth. Schoolteaching must not concern itself with imparting to the student lumps of knowledge, but with "pouring steel into the nerves of the German people." Three methods are most suited to this end:

1. Instruction of youth in what concerns the German people; their blood and tribal derivation; the Germanic national will.

2. Military sport: The German child must have a healthy body—no bent backs, hollow breasts or spectacles on the nose. Children in the towns must be brought back to nature. Every one must master military movements, including marching in close ranks as well as in open order, especially the new group formation in approaching the enemy.

3. Military science: (Here Banse expounds the technicalities of his new science as applied to young people and children.)[74]

73. It must be pointed out that Banse is only one leading representative of the general theory of forceful German self-assertion. Albrecht Haushofer (*Wehrgeopolitik*, 1932) advocates very material sacrifice through "fortified landscapes (*Abwehrlandschaften*)" and "everything in the service of war," *passim*. Hermann Rauschning devotes considerable space to Haushofer in his *Revolution of Nihilism* (New York City, 1939), pp. 186 ff. Though Rauschning is now an anti-National Socialist, he accurately sums up Haushofer's premises in the words: "The essence of the German mission today is the consciousness of being the chosen people with a permanent universal task—she is seizing [world] leadership only because the British nation has become feeble and weary" (p. 209). As president of the German Academy, Haushofer, with his school of "geopolitics," contributes a great deal to the clarification of Germany's aims through military preparedness. The professor is to all intents and purposes a follower of the noted geographer Ratzel, who advocates a fusion of all mankind into a unity under German domination. Cf. also Hans Freyer, *Pallas Athene* (*Ethik des politischen Volkes*), Jena, 1935, in which the Leipzig University professor gives out as general rules of politics "how to acquire dominion," "hold off adversaries," "maintain power," etc., *passim*. On the other hand, in the terms of Ferdinand Fried ("Die Neugestaltung der Welt," *Die Tat*, 25, 1934), Germany must and will readjust world politics because she is a "central, debtor nation" as a result of Versailles.

74. Banse's enthusiasm for instruction in military science is so arresting that the reader may welcome his exact phraseology: "This methodical instruction [military science] could begin with the eleventh or twelfth year and must take one or two hours a week. A place for it must be found. There is nothing more

In his exhortation to teachers, Banse affirms that when military science is the common possession of all Germans, they will not be mentally and spiritually unprepared for the next war as they were for the last: "It will not again be possible for the German people, distraught by hunger, to commit suicide by laying down their arms . . . in order to submit to the brutal yoke of an enemy's dictates."[75]

The more moderate work of Hans Willi Ziegler is a welcome auxiliary to this inquiry, since in addition to advocating military education it offers a valuable summary of the military aspect of physical training, and affords further proof of the ever-increasing importance of military training in education. Again let it be stressed that Dr. Ziegler's theories are not the general practice in Germany today, but as a professor in the Teachers' College of Rostock he wields ostensibly great influence.

It is the usual method of modern German writers when discussing any phase of National Socialism to begin by deploring the condition of their beloved land after the war, "all of which would *not* have happened had we been united and prepared." Having brought their countrymen to the conviction that this "regrettable past" must never recur, they turn to unrestrained exaltation of the new National Socialist Weltanschauung as preparing the way for salvation in the very near future. These efforts may well compel a feeling of sympathy on the part of the most unsympathetic observer when he realizes that in 1918 a very great nation suffered crushing defeat—all the more humiliating because of native German pride. Even the most hos-

important than education to military consciousness and the necessity of national defense. This period of military science must and must and must be established. For its sake other branches of study must be curtailed. It is more important that the young German be instructed in the basic questions of military technique and of the military situation of France than that he know the circumstances surrounding the life of frogs or the agrarian affairs of the ancient Romans." *Die deutsche Schule* (a monthly periodical for teachers), August, 1933.

75. *Ibid.* Banse's article is reviewed in Publication No. 10 of "Friends of Europe," London, 1934. There is great portent in Banse's violent religiosity, his categorical, often quixotic, judgments, and thrilling plans of procedure for the next war. Then, too, he occasionally commits such dangerous *faux pas* as, "the Italian army is of inferior value owing to their national character"; and concerning Germany's old ally, Austria Hungary, it was "one of our worst enemies,—its disappearance is one of the secret victories of our people." What will the Italians, Austrians, and Hungarians think of this?

tile foreigner must have a certain admiration for the spirit urged on Germany by its leaders. "We have a task to perform; it is a difficult one, but united we shall succeed." Hitler's admonition could be attributed to many authors, and is a perfect example of the way in which an entire nation has been called to become a team, out to win the game. The paternal attitude of Germany's leaders toward their countrymen, everywhere in evidence, is largely responsible for the voluntary devotion, incomprehensible to foreigners, of Germans to the cause, even though in the eyes of many it bodes ill for the rest of the world.

This digression has been necessary for a comprehensible approach to Ziegler. Extracts could be drawn from the professor's recent work which, on the face of them and removed from their proper context, must certainly irritate conservative readers. On the other hand, a strong case could be made for the social virtues of the manly, physically efficient type of human being Ziegler's method would produce. The just and fair commentator must attempt an accurate synthesis of the apparently conflicting elements of his work.

Ziegler is true to form in attempting to unite the problem of military education with the "originality" of the movement. There must be no involuntary imitation of inherited principles. Instead, there is to be evolved "a living mode of work, which, coming from within [presumably, from within the movement] shall produce military-trained young men, enthusiastic in their support of things German."[76] In his analysis of the whole period of physical and spiritual development from eight to eighteen years of age, Ziegler seeks means to attain the goal of military fitness. Taking a psychological approach, he shows that the development of youth is not steady, does not move in a straight line, but has a well-recognized rhythm by which one phase of physical and mental (also spiritual) development succeeds another, often with periods of crisis. In the eighth year, for example, military education is best administered through play "without any definite purpose in mind." At this stage leaders and followers begin to emerge. At thirteen a search for knowledge and superiority is apparent in the boy's struggle for mastery of the tasks assigned to him. He becomes self-conscious

76. Ziegler, *Wehrerziehung im neuen Geiste*, p. 3.

about his physical powers, intelligence, and knowledge. Therefore, says Ziegler: "This mental and physical drive to conquer can be put to excellent use in military education." Introducing the boy to the activity of a soldier means sharing life in the open field. "His chief need is for a life close to nature. . . . We can awaken his hunting instincts and fighting propensities, and increase his intimacy with forest and field." This method, Ziegler says, is "much more efficacious than formal exercises in military style."[77]

Ziegler observes great changes in the adolescent stage (fifteen to eighteen) in that games are neglected and there is a tendency to "sit around and become morose." "Behavior is clumsy; the body is awkward." But by well-planned and -directed military exercise, "with fresh and joyful company of the same age in sport and camp life, through excursions and influence on the mental attitude and surroundings in the direction of clean thoughts, many of the most dangerous thorns of this period of growth can be removed, and a certain unity of development produced."[78] At this age the "inward attitude" commands close attention. Every youth should be given an opportunity for self-development in initiative, "thus becoming inwardly ripe for a new attitude toward service and the community." Through the encouragement of comradeship and friendship ripened around the evening fireside, through excursions and camp life, the elements of leadership become clear and decisive, and the fuller military qualifications for the *Reichswehr*, the ultimate goal, will follow.[79]

Ziegler's theories are further evidence of a point already emphasized throughout the present discussion, namely, that in spite of the obvious improvement in public health and stamina that such training carries with it, and in spite of the increased physical power and social fraternity of its young subjects, the real and all-important aim, directly or indirectly, is military

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34. 78. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39. Ziegler follows very closely the state regulations on the organization of physical training. See *Richtlinien*, September, 1937; also Gräfe, *op. cit.*, p. 269. The part physical training plays in the development of future leaders is described in a doctor's dissertation, Hans Schenk: *Erziehung zum Führertum mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Leibesübungen*, Dresden, Risse Verlag, 1935.

preparedness—*the will of a nation to be physically fit for any eventuality.*

Ziegler is not the only one to display this attitude. Paul Schmitthenner has written a pertinent, though none too profound, essay on education for military preparedness in which he states that the desire for defense and military fitness lies at the heart of National Socialist convictions. "Therefore, the cultivation [of military fitness] comes within the realm of education."[80] Schmitthenner is slightly more careful than Ziegler and certainly less sensational than Banse with regard to the purpose of military education, for he is indignant at any claim that National Socialism is building an army for invasion or imperialistic aims. He holds the exact opposite: "National Socialism recognizes the right of free existence of any nation within its own territory [*Raum*]." "It will not only refuse but renounce any attack with force of arms upon the territory of foreign nations. It will refuse to subjugate politically any state with a different culture or even to hold such a state in constant threat of military violence or control."[81] He repeats with emphasis two ideas reminiscent of Scurla and Wilhelm: that military education has least of all to do with "militarism and the war spirit," and that "it is meant only for the defense of national existence (literally 'right to live'), honor and freedom."[82]

Returning to the point at issue, Schmitthenner avers with great sincerity and moderation that "*education for military preparedness is a necessity for the philosophy of National Socialism.*"[83] It is to be accomplished in threefold manner: first,

80. Paul Schmitthenner, *Erziehung zur Wehrhaftigkeit,* in Friedrich Hiller, *op. cit.,* pp. 146–151.

81. *Ibid.,* p. 146. If Schmitthenner were ever to rewrite his essay, it appears now that he would have to revise it considerably. He must go down as a very bad prophet.

82. See note 57 above on the difference between Soldatentum and Militarismus.

83. Very much to the point here is the thought of Philipp Hördt (*Der Durchbruch der Volkheit in die Schule,* pp. 90–91) who claims that the will to fight (*Wehrwillen*) is inborn in the Germanic spirit as is proved by the *Wehrbünde,* defense leagues that distinguished themselves in border struggles. The National Socialist state, according to Hördt, has an obligation to include the spirit of these organizations "organically as genuine, vital, and constructive forces in state development." This is but a part of Hördt's general philosophy which constructs the state out of Volk characteristics, not out of objective idealism. In other words, if the Germans are born fighters, the state must incorporate and reflect that characteristic, education's duty being to cultivate

the individual must be conditioned to the necessity of "thinking, feeling, and acting in a military way, not only as a soldier but as a member of the Volk"; secondly, the entire community must construct a program of military education in accordance with community needs and capable of community execution; and finally, the general administration of this program shall be carried out under proper political leadership through "suitable and shrewdly calculated military politics." "The successful unification of these three tasks is the goal of military education."[84]

Schmitthenner concludes with a plea for a new type of teacher whose mind will be permeated with the spirit of militarism and national self-defense. The oldtime, corpulent (*behäbig*) teacher must give way to one who is actively interested in exercise involving courage, strength, and dexterity. Of course, Schmitthenner concedes foresightedly, the new type of teacher will likewise grow old; but if he claims to be fulfilling his duty in "this splendid profession, he must maintain beneath his gray hair physical elasticity and a spiritual military education." If the course of education were made to follow Schmitthenner's advice, a great gap in public training would be filled with beneficial results to the peace and freedom of Germany and the outside world.[85]

This review of Banse, Ziegler, and Schmitthenner, however brief, has shown how far educators can differ in interpreting the larger theories of National Socialism. If there is an authentic interpretation, what is it? We shall not go wrong, surely, if Hitler is allowed the final word, for in *Mein Kampf* he says: "The army will have to turn the youth, after his perfect preliminary training, into a soldier. The army will be looked upon as the last and supreme school of national education."[86]

Broadly speaking the observer is forced to this general conclusion: the state as educator must be all-embracing, and must find in the army the pinnacle of its educational endeavor.

Volk peculiarities and mold them into an organic whole. Note also the words of Baron von Stein: "Germany can be saved only by Germany" (p. 98).

84. Schmitthenner, p. 148. 85. *Ibid.*, pp. 150–151.

86. Pp. 458–459. But a little earlier (p. 365), Hitler is not quite so specific, for he wants training "not just for the army, but the training of an army of able-bodied men."

CHAPTER VII

THE STATE AND RELIGION IN EDUCATION

Filled with the desire to secure for the German people the great religious, ethical, and moral values which are anchored in the two Christian confessions, we have abolished political organizations and by so doing strengthened religious institutions. For an agreement with the powerful National Socialist state is more valuable to a church than conflict between confessional political societies, which in their coalition-conditioned policy of compromise always must barter personal advantages for members of their party at the cost of sacrificing the ideals of inner religious feeling and national consolidation.

ADOLF HITLER (1934).

All German education has to acknowledge the fact that Christianity, far from having established civilization, owes its metaphysical qualities to German character.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, *Mythus*.

Blood and soil, folk and homeland are the hands of God, from which we have everything that we are.

BERNHARD RUST.

THE attitude of National Socialism toward the church has been established time and again by government action; nevertheless there is probably no area of present German civilization in a state of greater doubt and vacillation than that of state-church relationship. The adopting of any acceptable program has been very slow and difficult. It appears that although the people are willing to accept political, economic, and even social changes, they have not felt very binding their obligations to the state will in religious matters.[1] It is true that some reconciliation has been effected, but the sacrifice has been greatest on the part of the church. Clerics daring openly to oppose National Socialist attitudes have been severely dealt with, and have in many cases been entirely removed from contact with their congregations. The church has had to suffer a

1. See various *Kundgebungen* ("Pronouncements") as those published for the Evangelical Church by Karl Strauch, Dortmund, especially the one of March 16, 1934, reëstablishing old concepts and opposing church regimentation.

weaning away of its youth, and a gradual but telling destruction of its school program in favor of the new state training. But it still remains strong, if only by virtue of the refusal of thirty million Catholics[2] and countless devout Protestants to yield to any radical change in their religious life.

The denial of church control over education is but an offshoot of the National Socialist policy of antipluralism, but the controlling factors do not begin and end there. Secularization of education has never been complete in Germany. It was not until the end of the World War that any sort of real separation was effected. Even under the Weimar constitution religious instruction was carried on by church authorities as a regular subject in the curriculum, the bulk of elementary schools remaining sectarian in character.

National Socialism has renewed the struggle in the matter of denominationalism in the public-school system which began a hundred years ago. In the defending words of Walter Landé: "What the German Empire did not wholeheartedly wish to achieve (since monarchy was allied with Protestantism), and what the Republic could not achieve (since liberalism and socialism needed the support of the Roman Catholic Church), this, National Socialism has undertaken to bring to an end."[3]

National Socialism as a religion is meeting with greatest approval in younger circles, who in turn feel that the church has failed to provide for the more material necessities of life. Spiritual and universal in outlook, it has not proved itself very helpful to a younger generation facing the "realities of life" in a national community.

If the propelling force of this new religion were to be expressed in one word, that word would be "self-preservation." In mankind's bitter struggle for existence—and the future does not hold out much hope for an alleviation of it—self-preservation

2. The Reichs Statistical Bureau has made public the following figures which deal with the religious beliefs of the German school children for the year 1937: Protestant 61.84% (62.15 in 1936), Roman Catholic 36.75% (36.60 in 1936), other Christian beliefs 0.29% (0.22 in 1936), Jewish 0.18% (0.22 in 1936), other non-Christian beliefs 0.01% (0.03 in 1936), all other groups 0.93% (0.78 in 1936).

3. Landé, in *Education for Dynamic Citizenship*, pp. 111–112. Landé further compares this policy "paradoxically" to liberalism in the latter's fight for nonsectarian schools. But he omits mention of the vastly different purposes in view, a circumstance which rather nullifies any real analogy.

will prevail against humanitarianism. The importance of pure racial stock, in particular the preservation of the Aryan race with its "heroic virtues," its "higher culture," its achievements in art, science, and technique, of course form part of the religion. In fact, the Aryan man is alone the founder of the real "higher" humanity, and "consequently represents the original type of what we understand by the word 'man' (*Mensch*)." He is the Prometheus of mankind, says Hitler.[4] In this so-called "Nordic" religion in which only "pure" Germans may participate, racial "unitarianism" is the all-important principle; cross-breeding is a sin against the racial Holy Ghost; while the degeneration of the Aryan race through "hereditary sin" marks the end of Germany and the Germans.[5]

A statement of the official and actual relation of the state to the religious sects, with special regard to the place of religion in education may be found in the writings of Hans Kerrl, National Socialist Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs. Kerrl's views spring from the general conviction that religion has throughout the ages harbored political corruption, especially after the establishment of state churches.[6] The latter have not always confined themselves to a purely religious mission. If they have "interfered with politics," it must not be surprising that "politics will interfere with them"—another example of expressive National Socialist reasoning.[7]

Religion and the National Socialist Weltanschauung cannot be "played off" against each other. Religion must be a part of Weltanschauung, that is, must be a recognized and controlled and "positive" Christianity in accordance with the wording of Article 24.[8] "National Socialism is itself a religion," says Kerrl, and it "not only recognizes, but actually experiences daily its

4. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 317.

5. Cf. Wilhelm Hauer, *"Deutsche Gottschau"* (Stuttgart, 1936), p. 44: ". . . it is evident now that the domination of Christendom over Germanic regions . . . was but an episode of a thousand years, a period which now belongs to the past." Also, Ernst Bergmann, *Die 25 Thesen der Deutschreligion* (Leipzig, 1933), p. 88: "The future church of the Germans will be a united people's church on a German Reich-state religious basis, or *it will not exist at all.*"

6. Hans Kerrl, *Religion und Weltanschauung* (Berlin, 1937), p. 3.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Article 24 reads in part: "We demand freedom of all religious denominations in the state so long as they do not endanger its existence or offend the sense of morality and decency of the German race. The party . . . advocates a positive Christianity without committing itself to any certain faith."

obligations to God and the divine order of things."[9] But it is the accompanying duty of National Socialism to "insure religious freedom for German citizens under all circumstances." "It is the personal right of the individual to seek out and choose for himself the religious sect to which he desires to belong," provided no "political misuse" is made of this privilege.[10] As for religious dogma, neither the state nor the party "dreams of interfering" in disputes between churches and creeds. The National Socialist line of conduct represents simply a recognition of certain "positive aspects" of Christianity: a recognition which has converted faith into "living reality," and a faith that in accordance with Christian teachings has really "moved mountains."[11] Kerrl of course means the National Socialist faith.

In referring to the Führer's attitude concerning the place of religion, Kerrl cites an admonition that merits full quotation, since it sums up rather well the position of Germans in their divine relationship:

Believe in the mission that God himself has implanted in you. Recognize for a fact that the main factor is not words, but deeds, and rest assured that God placed you in this world that being Germans you should care for Germany. Then shall you see how a miracle descends—not, it is true, from heaven itself—but our faith brings about its fulfillment.[12]

This, then, is the religion of National Socialists: faith in themselves, their mission, and their own accomplishments. Placed by God on earth as Germans, for them Germany is the end-all of every divine inspiration.[13] And this should be a "welcome sign" for the confessions, for "now they need no longer concern themselves with politics." Indeed, clerics may preach

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5. Cf. his remark: "The art of a Christian century was bound to be Christian; the art of a National Socialist century is bound to be National Socialist." Nürnberg, September, 1936.

13. Cf. Hans Schemm, *Rasse, Persönlichkeit, Religiosität* in Hiller, *Deutsche Erziehung*, p. 34: "In fulfilling the will of the people, the Führer fulfills the will of God; for the voice of the Volk is the voice of God [*Volksstimme ist Gottesstimme*]." Cf. also Professor Hermann Schwarz; *Christentum, Nationalsozialismus und deutsche Glaubensbewegung*, Berlin, 1934, the general theme of which is the German Faith Movement as it poses the question: How far does Christianity agree or disagree with our kind?

the Gospel "with greater liberty"[14] . . . than ever before, since they are no longer exposed to the attack of certain confessional groups.

Without going too deeply into the problem, one may say that what Kerrl means by "being exposed to the attack of certain confessional groups" refers probably to their disparity of attitude toward the state. In Catholicism, all hierarchy in the state is derived from transcendental divine principle, standing above created nature. In other words, where the state may be considered "natural," the church is "supernatural"; it stands "above" any creation of man. Lutheranism, on the other hand, allows a separation of church and state, each having its own sphere of influence; while other denominations grant state control. Reconciliation of the Catholic Church with National Socialism is really an impossibility, since the movement considers the church hierarchy as of purely earthly origin and significance, without reference to the divine institution or consecration of office.[15]

National Socialism assumes fundamentally that "he who rules must rule the church." The church itself has no right to assume or grant to man the privilege of being educated "in any field it chooses to be right." "We must leave it to the National Socialist state to educate children as seems right to the state."[16] The teachings of Christ, avers Kerrl, in no way contradict National Socialism. "It was no part of the teaching of Christ to combat National Socialist racial theories." And here Kerrl proclaims Jesus as having led a struggle against Judaism, as National Socialism does today; this is why He was crucified. Moreover, "no obstacle will be put in the way of religious instruction in the schools."[17] In general, although National Socialism does not intend to establish a state-church and has "no far-reaching ecclesiastical legislation in progress," the attitude is that the church must not interfere in state development by seeking to control state action. "God . . . has set the task of National Socialism; . . . it is our duty to educate the whole nation in that task," and the churches "can follow . . . without hesitation.

14. Kerrl, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

15. René Fülöp-Miller, *The Power and Secret of the Papacy* (London, 1937), p. 183, translated by M. R. Bonacina.

16. Kerrl, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

17. *Ibid.*

. . . They need not fear we shall hinder them, if they do not impede us."[18]

But even in authoritative circles Minister Kerrl does not altogether have his own way. Robert Wimmer, a well-known specialist and expert in religious education, fails to agree that National Socialism is a religion. Wimmer draws a sharp distinction between life here on earth and life after death. National Socialist Weltanschauung occupies itself with the shaping of life as it is here on earth. Religion "refers to the beyond," and tries to prepare the individual for life after death. National Socialism does not do this and cannot, therefore, be a religion with all the implications of divine worship. But religion and National Socialism can exist side by side, provided the church leaves control of the present world (*Diesseits*, literally, "on this side") to the "proper powers."[19]

In Wimmer's reasoning, the church bases its claim to the education of youth on the premise that every education must be founded on a certain philosophy. Not only this, but such a philosophy must be constructed in accordance with the community that is its bearer (*Träger*).[20] In the church's mind, says Wimmer, there are only two powers determining the course of education, the church and the family; the family for "natural reasons," the church for "spiritual and community reasons, since she is the community." While the premise is fundamentally sound that education is only possible within a community, and for a long time the church was indeed the only really organized community, the fact remains that the present German community is a national (völkisch) one, established by a revolution (1933), and governed in accordance with a new Weltanschau-

18. *Ibid.* See also his speech before the Deutsche Akademie, 1935, Berlin. Hitler also warns, before the Reichstag, Berlin, January 30, 1934: "Thus the National Socialist state has shown its respect for the Christian confessions during this year, and expects the confessions to respect equally the strength of the National Socialist state." Cf. also Wilhelm Stapel, *Die Kirche Christi und der Staat Hitlers,* Hamburg, 1933, in which, as an outstanding writer on the conciliation of nationalism with the church, Stapel lays the responsibility of religion, morals, and education on the state. In his mind, and here he agrees with Hitler and Rosenberg, the preaching of such "unmoral" ideas as pacificism, democratic equality, and liberalism are injurious to state progress.

19. Wimmer, *Nationalsozialismus und Jugenderziehung* (Hamburg, 1936), pp. 29–30.

20. *Ibid.*

ung. The education of this new community is now a German education for Germany.[21] Consequently, the National Socialist state as an instrument of the movement must be sovereign in demanding "the inner justification for handling education problems," the more so because education is vital to organized National Socialism.[22]

Wimmer's variance of opinion with Kerrl does not prevent him from adopting the conformist attitude that neither confessional nor liberal education corresponds with the ideal of the National Socialist school. Although theoretically the establishment of confessional schools is still left to the will of the people, the church has lost its right to influence education, since both method and content are expressly controlled by the government. The fact that confessional schools are diminishing in number and attendance does not mean that the state is unavoidably bound to attack religion and the church, for the church still teaches religion in the common schools (*Gemeinschaftsschulen*).[23] The chief task of education as regards religion is "to bridge the conflict between denominational and undenominational schools [*Simultanschulen*]." Its execution is determined by three controlling circumstances:

1. The National Socialist state is "neither indifferent in the sense of liberalism nor catholic in the sense of the Catholic Church, nor protestant in the sense of the Prussian state or the Bismarck empire." The state is above (*steht völlig über*) the confessions, without necessarily being either Christian or unchristian.[24]

2. Besides recognizing a "positive Christianity," National Socialism realizes how much credit must be given to the church as a powerful contributor to modern German culture. That is why National Socialism maintains Christianity as a basic characteristic.[25]

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32. 22. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 35. Here Wimmer plays on the word "confession," asserting that the new school is also confessional; it is a "confession" to the German people itself.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 36. For the influence of the church on German culture see Hermann Sauer, *Abendländische Entscheidung. Arischer Mythus und Christliche Wirklichkeit*, Leipzig, 1939. This book is, by the way, an orthodox Christian's answer to "Aryan Mythology" and Nordic Religion concepts.

3. The denominational school is in sharp contrast to the National Socialist common school in that the latter prefers the general all-embracing Christian elements in German culture (whatever these elements are), as against any emphasis on the teachings of a particular sect. Moreover, the common school has little affinity with the undenominational school of liberalism, for the latter features Christianity only in religious instruction, without necessarily linking religion with culture, as does the present common school.[26]

According to Wimmer, therefore, since the schools of National Socialism are primarily German and Christian in philosophy, method, and content, and since the church is granted the right to teach religion in the new schools, there is obviously no need for confessional schools.[27] After a lengthy investigation of the political activity of the church, the Catholic Church especially, in which he seeks to show how the church has "played politics" with past German governments in an effort to direct state activities, Wimmer comes to the following conclusions:

1. There is admitted tension between National Socialism and the church.

2. There is no such thing as a Kulturkampf of the state against the church (since Christianity is a part of German Kultur).

3. Good will must be created by coöperation. This means that both state and church will have to give up some of their conflicting dogma. (Wimmer does not say exactly what each shall give up.)

4. The church's defamation of National Socialism as neopaganism is contradictory to its acknowledgment of an existent Concordat.[28]

5. The church must not interpret the state as an institution founded on the church. The state is not simply a "Christian state"; it must be recognized in its own right and be allowed to settle all worldly matters in its own way.

26. *Ibid.* 27. *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37.

28. Here Wimmer refers to the Concordat with the Holy See, July 8, 1933, by which National Socialism recognizes Catholicism on a equal basis with Protestantism. See *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 16, 1933. Other "agreements" in the same month with Protestant church groups united these groups under a national governing committee.

6. There must be an end to political religion and its "disturbing activities within the life of the nation." (Wimmer calls church interference with state activity "political religion.")

7. The state must continue to recognize the influence of the church and Christianity in education, while further open conflict will only result in a "pitched battle."[29]

Robert Wimmer's tendency to reduce the church to the position of a state ward finds ready agreement, with certain modifications, among many educational thinkers, a very few of whom will suffice as examples. Fritz Söllheim, for example, after a few historical excursions in the manner of Wimmer, concludes that as long as the church in Germany remains "operative as a great political and cultural force, and the bearer of Reich thought," there will be no separation of church and state, but instead there will come about a "life-tie between these two powerful forces."[30] Pointing to the Catholic Concordat, he warns the church in his peremptory way that the Pope has forbidden the clergy to indulge in any political activity;[31] meanwhile the state swears to preserve religious instruction in the schools and to guarantee the "material integrity" (church taxes) of the church.[32] In Söllheim's dogmatic view, the significance of the church as a vital social force is tending to diminish more and more, particularly in these times of urbanization and industrialization.[33]

A moderate, sometimes quite conservative point of view may usually be found in the repetitious writings of Gerhardt Giese. The relationship of the church to state education is characterized as both "fundamental and limiting" in nature. The state cannot be the only educator. It can educate for state citizenship, but it cannot educate for God's kingdom. "As Christians we educate not only under command from the state but in the service of God; we educate not only citizens but God's children." But Giese reverts to type with the provision that obe-

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 49 ff., but especially pp. 117–118. It must be stated that Wimmer places the chief responsibility for coöperation with the church (p. 118).

30. Fritz Söllheim, *Erziehung im neuen Staat*, p. 80. Cf. Hitler, January 30, 1934: "At the same time we hope that the uniting of the various national evangelical churches to a uniform evangelical church of Germany will satisfy the longing of those who, because of the uncertainty of evangelical life, feared a weakening of the evangelical faith."

31. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

dience to God must not lead to internal (national) dissolution; on the contrary, it automatically confirms and intensifies the binding connection with Volk and state.[34] Neither Giese nor Wimmer would object, probably, to being classed with those whose idea of state-church relationship is roughly this: Religion is essential to state welfare, but the church is subservient to the state.[35]

Ernst Krieck, who as a rule stays away from the subject, contrasts religion in a rather lofty manner with destiny, and comes out with very similar ideas. Fate takes precedence over Providence in the National Socialist conception of things. The heroic man plans his own destiny, in accordance with his birthright and surroundings.[36] It cannot be a part of German destiny to let itself be controlled by the universal and leveling socialization of Christianity.[37] National Socialism sponsors a "Nordic, a German-folk Christianity," not a Roman Church, and certainly not an Oriental (Jewish) Christianity.[38] With rhetorical conviction Krieck puts the question: "Is not the divine revelation of the original Gospel manifest today in the reality of the Third Reich?"[39] But further exploration of Krieck's philosophy leads to realms presided over by Rosenberg, Bergmann, Hauer, Reventlow, Frau Ludendorff, and others.[40] It is perhaps only fitting, therefore, that Rosenberg as a leading exponent of the "new" religion should be allowed to speak for himself.

It is a far cry from men of Wimmer's type to Alfred Rosen-

34. Giese, *Staat und Erziehung,* p. 85.

35. Hans Bäcker, *op. cit., passim,* sees the state in need of support by some sort of metaphysical faith.

36. Krieck, *Anthropologie,* I, 57–59.

37. *Ibid.,* p. 57: "The God of Providence is the God of bourgeois security."

38. *Ibid.,* p. 69. 39. *Ibid.*

40. Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts,* Munich, 1930, subtitled "an evaluation of the struggle for new forms in our time." Bergmann, *Deutschland, das Bildungsland der neuen Menschheit,* Breslau, 1933; also *Die deutsche Nationalkirche,* Breslau, 1933. Bergmann is champion of a *"Deutschreligion."* Friedrich Wilhelm Hauer, *Deutsche Gottschau,* 1936. Hauer was formerly a leader of the new "German Faith Movement" (*Deutsche Glaubensbewegung*). Count Ernst Reventlow, *Wo ist Gott?,* Rotadruck Verlag, Berlin, 1934. Reventlow is also editor of the *Reichswart,* a weekly devoted to religion and politics. In his introduction (p. 2) Reventlow says: "National Socialism considers the religious domain to be a matter for personal decision." Mathilde Ludendorff, *Erlösung von Jesu Christo,* Munich, 1935. The sale of Frau Ludendorff's books has been phenomenal, rapidly approaching the million mark.

berg. Compared with this great apostle of a "German religion," those who seek to reconcile the old church with the new state appear as mere conservative dilettantes. Originally second only to Hitler in command, Rosenberg, born in Latvia, has pursued a very colorful career. It is safe to say that no man has more influenced National Socialist Weltanschauung. He has also been Hitler's adviser on foreign affairs, and official Kultur leader, but his success and general popularity, particularly after 1933, have not been sufficient to secure the favored treatment bestowed on such men of the "old guard" as Frick, Göring, Ley, Darré, and Hess. Recent years have found him in a secondary but strategic role, involving propaganda and "public enlightenment."[41] Rosenberg still has a tremendous following in Germany, as may be judged by the vast amount of literature in circulation, sympathetic to his theories. He himself has been fairly prolific in several fields of literary endeavor. He has voiced very definite ideals for the future of German policy,[42] has written biography, criticism,[43] and state theory for National Socialism,[44] aside from his numerous published speeches, articles, and essays on topics relating to education and science.[45] But his most important work by far, and that which is of primary concern here, is the *Mythus*, for in this book Rosenberg expounds at length the creed and tenets of the Nordic religion and its "positive Christianity."

With regard to this doctrine there are several points to be kept in mind. In the first place, Rosenberg's ideas have not been officially sanctioned. Rosenberg is not a Kerrl, nor does he enjoy extensive executive privilege in the Reich.[46] Secondly, he is

41. Rosenberg's extremism has been put to use, as many people have observed, as a means, by contrast, of stabilizing the more official National Socialism.

42. Rosenberg, *Der Zukunftsweg einer deutschen Aussenpolitik,* Eher Verlag, Munich, 1937. Eher publishes practically all the works of Rosenberg.

43. *Houston Stewart Chamberlain,* Munich, 1937; *An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit,* a polemic against the Jesuits, Munich, 1935.

44. *Der deutsche Ordenstaat,* Munich, 1934; *Das Wesensgefüge des Nationalsozialismus,* Munich, 1934.

45. "Weltanschauung und Wissenschaft," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1937), VI, 153–154, is a good example.

46. Cf. Switzer McCrary, *The National Socialist State,* p. 25: "Furthermore, the bulk of the German people, despite the sale of some three hundred thousand copies of *Der Mythus,* ignore or spurn his attempt to draw them from their traditional faiths."

not any more popular with the average German than his counterpart, Goebbels. He speaks frequently and is heard, but not readily obeyed. Thirdly, Rosenberg has been openly opposed time and again by the Christian clergy without fear of government reprisal.[47] And fourthly, differences exist between individual members of what may be termed the Rosenberg school which, although too extensive to be treated here, nevertheless demonstrate the fact that Rosenberg's eschatology is not completely carrying the day.

But this does not in any way minimize the great influence of Rosenberg upon his readers. As editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, his presence is felt with every edition. He has made a particularly profound impression upon the youth. All the festivals, camp fires, rituals, and symbolic paraphernalia sponsored by Rosenberg and connected with youth leagues have become valuable stimuli for spiritual acceptance of the new religion. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a theorist, excepting perhaps Hans Blüher, the Prometheus of the Youth Movement, who has more effectively guided the philosophy and procedure of the youth leagues. The corollary must be added that ideals firmly ensconced in the minds of youth, especially when interpreted in visible symbols, are very apt to take on reality in adult life.

What is this "myth," this mythus? In Rosenberg's own terms, it is a "new belief awakening today . . . that the divine being of man is to be defended through blood," a belief that the Nordic blood enshrines a "mystery" to take the place of the old sacraments.[48] In other words, Rosenberg believes with his mystic forefather, Meister Eckehard, that the "noblest in man" is "blood," that is, when the "right will" is in it; but when evil is in it, it is "the worst in man."[49] In this way, the mythus of the

47. Cf. the special supplement in the *Kirchlicher Anzeiger* for the Diocese of Cologne, 1934, article bearing the title, *Studien zum Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*. The article is prefaced in part: "It has been written with love for the German Fatherland, for the Holy Church and Truth." See also Heinrich Hüffmeier: *Evangelische Antwort auf Rosenbergs Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1934, in which Pastor Hüffmeier defends Christianity against Rosenberg's attacks. In his foreword he says: ". . . we do not need a new teaching [referring to Rosenberg's] concerning God. What God is and what He wants, we know through Jesus Christ."

48. Rosenberg, *Mythus*, p. 114.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 257–258. Rosenberg claims that "when the spirit of Eckehard had ceased to speak [*verstummte*], Germanic art was born, the soul of Bach sang, there came Goethe's *Faust*, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, Kant's philosophy. . . ."

eternal and free soul preached by the followers of St. Paul becomes the mythus of the blood, and in reality the "religion of the blood," as Rosenberg so precisely terms it.[50]

Historically speaking, this blood has produced a race consciousness that is German to the core, lucidly demonstrable (says Rosenberg) in the tribal feelings of the Teutons which marked the beginnings in Nordic heroism, sense of honor, and love of freedom. Such feelings were inherited in the military might of Prussia, which proved to the world that there was nothing, either abstract or concrete, superior in devotion to the fatherland.[51] Today this enthusiasm for the fatherland, synonymous with race, although essentially abstract, becomes a "mystical and a real experience," for now the "atoms . . . of our people are beginning to coördinate as a single unit."

Rosenberg dates the first awareness of the "German religion" from the period of the World War. Through the millions who died for Germany's honor and freedom, there has come about "a renaissance of the soul," an awakening of ethnic values which have been slowly unfolding throughout the entire history of Germany's unification.[52]

Rosenberg's religious mission is not at all one-sided, for the positive element of his thought is defended by polemics against the Catholic Church for its power-politics,[53] ostensibly because it allowed itself to become nothing but a tool for Jewry;[54] as well as against the Jews for their immorality, lying, and deceitful politics.[55] To Rosenberg, the sense of sin always goes hand in hand with physical and racial cross-breeding; that is why Christianity was so successful in its invasion of Rome, a great city which had become dissolute and denuded of all racial purity and sobriety. "The victory of Christianity," Rosenberg judges, "was due primarily to its doctrine of sinfulness prevailing in the world," and the accompanying doctrine of salva-

50. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 449–450, 700.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 449–450.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 467.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
55. *Ibid., passim.* See also Rosenberg's *Unmoral im Talmud,* Bayreuth, 1936. The *Mythus* is written broadly as an answer to three existing doctrines: (1) The Nordic soul, with its ideas of freedom and honor. (2) Roman Catholicism and pertinent Protestantism based on submission to ecclesiastical hierarchy and world socialism. (3) The doctrine of materialism including the domination of money, with side references to Bolshevism and Jewry. These three powers are, in Rosenberg's mind, all struggling for supremacy.

tion by grace. If the people had not become perverted, Christianity would never have thrived. He inquires in effect: Were the heroes of Homer, the Germans of Tacitus, and Dietrich or the old Indians guilty of, or even cognizant of, "sin"? It is only the violation of racial character that leads to perversion and sin; the purer the race, the purer the man and his behavior.[56]

Citing such instruments of political power as ex-communication, proscription, and the inquisition, Rosenberg wonders how "a religion of love can be built up without love."[57] And on the idea of love as a dominating power, he sees hundreds of millions "stripped bare of any character, governed by a much-cultivated [*hochgezücht*] fear of purgatory and the eternal pains of hell."[58] Love paralyzes the sense of honor and duty; "it is the protector of all things and beings inferior, infirm, crippled, criminal, and rotten." Any nation believing in honor, loyalty, sense of duty, and self-development must eliminate (*ausschalten*, literally "put out of circuit,") all such forms of decadence.[59] Then follow the "all too well-known weaknesses" of Christianity: its exaltation of equality, pacifism, cosmopolitan socialism, world-leveling, its general internal corruption, and other points not relevant here.[60]

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 170–171. This formula is applied to Jewish racial exclusiveness in Rosenberg's own words as follows: "The Jew . . . made Jehovah the center of the universe and himself the plenipotentiary servant of Jehovah. He thus found a governing center from which, up to now, he has propagated and preserved his intellect and his racial character. . . . Everywhere these ideas were nothing but the old rigid Jehovah in new forms. . . . This static self-preservation is the metaphysical reason for Jewish strength and toughness, but also for their complete lack of cultural productivity." And a little later he observes (p. 464): "Every attempt to form an organic community of Jewish peasants, workers, technicians, philosophers, warriors, and statesmen is against Jewish race instinct, and is therefore bound to fail."

57. *Ibid.*, p. 156. 58. *Ibid.*, p. 159. 59. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

60. Rosenberg's *Mythus* cannot be cast aside in the manner of many "liberals" as mere emotional blurb. It contains a great deal of criticism and refutation that must command attention. Cf. for example his attack on the Swiss Calvinist, Karl Barth, who proclaimed the universality of the church above the state and nationality: "If Germany fails and if Europe fails, then God can build His church in India or in Japan," pp. 43, 45–57. Rosenberg's faith does not tolerate this, and decries any condition in civilization which will result in sacrificing Luther's work and calling his "pure-blooded, full-blooded" Protestantism a "stubborn garrulity" (p. 47). Dr. Künneth, Cardinal Faulhaber, Hans Bruns (Rosenberg's special critic along with Künneth and Schreiner) all come in for denunciation on the ground that they are exponents of a creed that "makes man sinful . . . in order to bestow grace" (p. 57). Moreover, there are several interesting, if not enlightening, passages on the Oxford Move-

But there is a conflict between the Nordic and the Christian view of life. Nordic honor is opposed to Christian love, as a contrasting philosophic principle. Honor was unknown to Christendom. "Christianity did not recognize a conception of honor —it aimed at subduing both body and soul."[61] In building its development on love it conflicted, and still conflicts with Nordic Europeans, who live and die characteristically and voluntarily in freedom and honor, the soul being controlled by "a sort of mystical experience which is as brilliant as day."[62] Christian love has little in common with Germanic values of spiritual liberty, honor, freedom, nobility of soul, heroism, pride, and courage. Not only this, but it has also interfered with the "soul-style" (*Seelenstil*) of the Germans in their conception of Kultur and the folk-state. Personality, family, tribal and Germanic honor must be reborn and an integrated racial community regained.[63]

Yet Rosenberg will not outlaw Christianity. "Nobody must scorn Jesus' Gospel of love," but a "German religious movement that wants to become a folk-church must certainly subordinate the love of neighbor to the idea of national honor." First must come national honor; second, the church and love.[64] What is more, "responsible" Germans should not seek to remove the faithful from the church, since "no religious genius has yet arisen to give us an example of a new religious type beyond those already in existence."[65] But love and pity do not build great states, for these qualities are always directed toward "individual loving or suffering creatures"; they are hardly meant

ment (p. 69), the Oecumenical Movement (p. 630), the World Church Conference in Oxford, August, 1937 (p. 72), and other militant "Christian methods" which aim at a "politics of world-power." If Christianity claims this aim for itself, why cannot the German religion or Mohammedanism do the same, Rosenberg asks in effect.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 155–156.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 146–147.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 190–191, 400–401.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 608.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 599. Rosenberg renders homage to Christ for his courageous life, but not his death, as follows: "It is his life which is of importance to Germanic peoples; not his agonizing death, which brought him success among the Alpine and Mediterranean races. It is not the Lamb of sacrifice of the Jewish prophecy, not the crucified one, but the powerful preacher and the angry one in the Temple, the man who carried all before him and whom all followed, who is today the plastic ideal shining forth for us out of the gospels. And if it can not shine forth, then the gospels also [in addition to the other books of the New Testament] are dead" (p. 604).

to include the whole community. "Freedom from suffering is in itself a mere personal feeling which contains no really true and strong element able to build up a nation or a state."[66]

Rosenberg's positive Christianity naturally presupposes a Nordic church. It will be a folk-church "on a voluntary basis," embracing ideas of "national and personal honor," and incorporating as members only those who are of "Nordic descent." Significantly, the new church is dubbed a "nobler *Reichswehr*" in organization and purpose,[67] its appointed task being to realize in image the myth of the people, and "give expression to the longing of the Nordic soul."[68] In contrast to the negative Christian attitude with its Oriental traditions, abstract dogmas, and ancient rites, the "positive Christian attitude awakens once more the power of the Nordic blood."[69]

Faith does not negatively control man; man controls faith. Man positively determines the kind and content of his faith,[70] and it is the Almighty within every German soul ("the God within ourselves") that is the mystic discoverer of this faith.[71] The negating crucifix of death will be replaced by the positive symbol of the hero and life,[72] an example of which is the "revered soldier as he fights for national honor."[73]

More concretely, the genuine relation of the German state to the church implies full tolerance of the existing confessions, and grants them political support, "insofar as their doctrines and their works are destined to strengthen the soul."[74] This also holds true for all movements of faith, even the "new ones," for as Rosenberg warns, "the new faith movements—that are already on their way—must therefore be similarly protected."[75]

The logical consequence of these concepts is that the church can have only a secondary influence in the education of youth. "No German statesman has the right to hand over the education of youth to the church," for "the great personalities of the nation would be relegated to an insignificant position, if they served the churches."[76] Since the task of education is primarily to mold character, it is a part of the canon of National Social-

66. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 621–622.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 614.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 616.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 621.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 603. Cf. this with Article 24 *supra*, of the Party Program.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*, p. 634.

ism to strengthen those qualities of character that "lie deepest in the Germanic soul," and which "demand the most careful development." Here it is that the national state will have to "put forward its claim of totality without any compromise." Youth must be taught that there is a mysterious concord between blood and race. "The God we worship would not exist, were there not our blood and our soul."[77]

The characteristics of the Nordic race center around activity and productivity. Their essence is "efficient warriorship." The Nordic soul is therefore not contemplative; it possesses the *amor fati*, the desire to influence its own fate and "go to death with a laughing heart." The highest development of the Nordic race is heroism: heroism in all its forms, "going from the swords of Siegfried and Heracles to the research of Copernicus and Leonardo, to the religion of Eckehard and Lagarde, to the politics of Frederick and Bismarck." And this heroism will live as long as the Nordic blood will live.[78]

Following Rosenberg comes Ernst Bergmann, a religious neo-Romanticist who demands a religion for Germans only, and outlines it neatly in twenty-five theses.[79] This philosophy professor from Leipzig adds little to Rosenberg's broader conceptions, beyond the modification that religion must be taught chiefly as an aid to Volk and fatherland in their life struggle.[80]

Bergmann's religion is "not hostile" to the church. "It seeks a German church on the basis of a religious people."[81] Agreeing with Rosenberg's idea of the "God within us," Bergmann quotes Silesius as saying, "I am as great as God; he is as small as I am"; and follows this with quotations from Goethe, "If God's own power were not within us, how could we delight in the Divine?" and from Schelling, "I am the God which nature raises in her bosom." Bergmann's eighth thesis maintains, therefore, that "God is a moral idea to which we are bound by the eternal force of nature." There is no God of another world.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 624. A useful review of Rosenberg's philosophy is to be found in Sturm, *Deutsche Erziehung im Werden*, pp. 85–86, but Sturm is not very helpful in connecting it with education.

78. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 119, 120, 310, 459, 481. See also Alfred Rosenberg, *Blut und Ehre* (Munich, 1934), pp. 139, 242. Bäumler has an essay entitled "Rosenberg der Ghibelline," in *Politik und Erziehung;* see especially p. 26 on national honor.

79. Bergmann, *Die 25 Thesen der Deutschreligion*. Like the *Mythus*, Bergmann's *Deutschreligion* has been banned by the Vatican (1934).

80. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Since will, understanding, and personality are of man, and unique in him, just as they are in God, then man is the abode (*Ort*) of God in the world.[82] Man is God's birthplace, so that the German religion becomes the religion of a high faith in man.[83]

But Bergmann borrows from a philosophic school, that of Ludwig Klages largely, whose leitmotifs are often in sharp contrast to Rosenberg's emphasis on soldierly virility and heroic manliness. In further defense of a statement made previously on "internal disagreement" within the Rosenberg school, Bergmann must be cited as a believer in the "superior values" of womanhood, and in nature as the only thing possessing eternity.[84]

Further variety of emphasis may be found in a group of philosophers who supplement their masters with more specific detail on the concepts of the Nordic religion; among them, Fischer-Dodeleben, Kusserow,[85] and a school of historians who have reconstructed history on a racial basis.[86]

The general trend of all these neotheologians, simply expressed, is a religious philosophy based on what they conceive to be innate in man—not a return to old faiths exactly, but as Bäumler majestically words it, "a cognizance of that which we always were and still are." This ideology is new only in representing "our very own presence and experience." "It is an experience of our deepest being, our own past, our own race." This "myth"—here Bäumler refers especially to Rosenberg—is therefore "not a bright new product of thought which appears and disappears," not an ideology "invented the other day," but the product of a long-awaited realization.[87] It is a religion for Germans and the peculiarly German character.

It is a great temptation to elaborate upon the ideas contained

82. *Ibid.*, p. 35. 83. *Ibid.*

84. Cf., in addition to the above, Bergmann, *Erkenntnisgeist und Muttergeist* (*Eine Soziosophie der Geschlechter*), Breslau, 1932. An exponent of a more portentous German religion which, like Bergmann's, tolerates no God that does not favor Germany, is Ernst Nickisch, editor of *Der Widerstand*. See especially his *Die dritte imperiale Figur*, Berlin, 1937, and *Politik und Idee*, Dresden, 1929.

85. Felix Fischer-Dodeleben, *Grundzüge einer Deutschreligion*, 1934. This book shows the author to be a definite disciple of Rosenberg. Wilhelm Kusserow, *Das Nordische Artbekenntnis* (*The Creed of the Nordic Race*), Struppe und Winkler, Berlin.

86. The works of Rödiger, Czech-Jochberg, Rüger, Klagges, Jaster, Fikenscher, and others have been cited above.

87. Bäumler, *Politik und Erziehung*, p. 20.

in the National Socialist racial religion, especially as they conflict with the creeds of the church, but this would not be relevant. We therefore leave National Socialist religious attitudes to enter into some account of religion in the schools, however brief the situation compels such a study to be.

As yet, there is no authority to show that courses on the Nordic religion are superseding Christianity.[88] As has been emphatically pointed out, the above philosophy still belongs more to the realm of ideals than to everyday practice. Traditional Christianity still dominates the school system, although there is strong inferential evidence that the new religion forms a vital part of the instruction.

Governmental decrees are none too clear as to just what is to be taught in religious education, but one point is apparent. Formerly the pupil had the right to enter the class of any sect he chose, and it then devolved upon the principal to compel attendance. At present, however, attendance at religious functions of all types is a free and personal matter.[89]

In practice the number of hours devoted to religious instruction in public schools has been reduced. Where formerly as many as nineteen hours were allotted in the secondary schools, that total has now been reduced to twelve, over a period of eight instead of nine years.[90] It would be interesting to trace the reasoning of any official change in the content or method of religious instruction as contrasted with former theory, but the Reform of 1938, together with the lengthy exposition of it by Bernhard Rust,[91] contains no mention whatever of the course religion is to take as a school subject, or who shall teach it.[92]

88. There have been many attempts to reconcile Christianity to National Socialism and vice versa in addition to the works of Stapel, H. Schwarz, and others mentioned above. See M. Schmaus, *Begegnungen zwischen Katholischem Christentum und Nationalsozialistischer Weltanschauung,* Regensburg, 1933; Anton Stonner, *Nationale Erziehung und Religionsunterricht,* Regensburg, 1934; and Gottlieb Leibrandt, *Stand, Staat und Volk,* Leipzig, 1935.

89. Laws of July 9, 1935, and October 22, 1935. Cf. the philosophy of Count Reventlow, *op. cit.,* p. 2. In this connection it is well to remember that the control of education since the eighteenth century has gradually shifted from church to state.

90. Fritz Söllheim claims that cleric teachers have welcomed the shortening of the number of hours of religious instruction for, in his puzzling terms, "with too much religious instruction, youth doesn't absorb so much" (*op. cit.,* p. 81).

91. *Erziehung und Unterricht, supra.*

92. The author's personal visits to classes in religion reveal that clerics are

There has been a sincere effort on the part of the church to reconcile the program of religious instruction with National Socialist ideology, and a number of works have appeared on the general subject of youth education and Christianity.[93] Such works are evidence of constant attempts to teach practical Christianity in a very real situation. As Dr. Cordier says, "Our faith in Christ determines the picture and the perception of reality, and establishes the method by which we grasp this reality." In other words, the actual reality is after all nothing but the world of Jesus Christ, the life in and with Christ being the touchstone for the basis of life; for reality does not exist outside of one's perception of it. It is the perception that must be trained in order that the reality may be coped with. Religious perception and attitudes have had to change throughout the ages. At one time, issues centered around Christianity and the world, at other times, Christianity and nationalities, or Christianity and the individual. Today Christianity must strive to prove its values to youth by a strong program of education, and effective treatment of the demands of their time and the realities of their existence.[94]

being slowly replaced by regular staff members. Conversations with priests, particularly in parochial schools, from which many public schools draw their religious instructors, bear out this fact. Moreover, the decided drop in enrollment figures for parochial schools shows that it is no longer "the fashion" to be a parochial-school student.

93. Such works are, for example, Leopold Cordier, *Die Jugenderziehung vor der Christusfrage,* Friedrich Bahn, Schwerin, Meckl; and *Die Erziehung der Jungen und Mädchen zur sittlichen Reinheit* (no author named), Pädagogischer Verlag, Düsseldorf, 1937. The stress here is on sex education as best achieved through Christian teaching, though this is not necessarily a schoolbook. A defense of the church against Rosenberg's school and from the present-day German Catholic point of view is the series, *Kirche Christi und Fragen der Gegenwart,* Verlag Joseph Bercker, Kevelaer, Rhld., 1935. Georg Werthmann's *Wir wollen dienen* (Wehrverlag Joseph Bercker, Berlin, 1936) is an example of how a chaplain in the army teaches religion as essential to any program of national defense. Paul Althaus, *Christus und die deutsche Seele* (Bertelmann Verlag, Gütersloh), is, as the title indicates, an evangelical answer to the question as to whether one can be an honest German and an honest Christian at the same time. In answer to the accusation that Christians are cowards as shown by their socialism, Dr. Hatzfeld has written *Ist die Bergpredigt für Feiglinge?* (Paderborn, 1937). This is also part of a series: *Gerichtstag Gottes über Europa.*

94. By the decree of April 18, 1933, the church and the family are called upon to aid in sex education. National Socialism does not believe in a purely intellectual explanation of sex biology through "materialistic ethics." It prefers sex education through "instinctive modesty" and "religious sensitivity." How-

Aside from any direct teaching of Christian tenets in the day schools in this practical way, some work is still being done by church Sunday schools, but the activities of the Hitlerjugend fill the week ends in such a way as to conflict seriously with this type of instruction. The investigator seeking detailed information as to what is taught in classes in religion is faced with an almost complete absence of pertinent literature.[95] In addition to the disappointing lack of any reference to religious education in the Reform of 1938, there is cause for concern in the silence of even the most important periodicals and general texts. Perhaps this signifies little more than indecision or lack of a specific program, the plan being to allow each teacher comparatively free rein in instruction.[96] But one is constrained to wonder just what the spiritual and emotional attitudes of youth can be amid so much bewildering religious conflict and controversy.

What is obvious is that the religion of National Socialism, whether German or Nordic, must ever remain the supreme faith. Of earthly origin, it claims no hierarchy of divine institutions and offices, but bases its catechism on the nature-bound heritage of race. Under its sanctions the supreme end of all activity, we repeat, lies in the greater glory of the nation and its desire for biological development to the highest possible perfection.

ever, if parents wish it, classes (not mixed) may be established in the schools. See Taylor, *Internationale Zeitschrift*, I, 322.

95. This in no way denies the existence of ample literature on the philosophy of religious instruction as it pertains to state theory. It refers only to content of religious instruction. A careful and valuable doctor's dissertation has been written by Max Rössler (*Der Katholische Religionsunterricht im Nationalsozialistischen Staate*, Rita Verlag, Würzburg, 1937), which is almost the last word on state-church educational relationships, but his section on content ("Inhalt des Religionsunterricht," pp. 27–29) is hardly two pages long, and is very general. As a matter of fact, Rössler for some reason purposely sidesteps the issue by saying (p. 27), "It is not our plan to explain method and content (*was und wie*) of religious instruction."

96. On November 17, 1938 (quoted in *Internationale Zeitschrift* [1939], VIII, No. I, 71), Bernhard Rust referred to a law (*Amtsblatt des Ministeriums* [1938], p. 534) which left participation in religious instruction to the decision of the teacher, but once having decided to teach religion, the teacher must respect pupil freedom of conscience, and not seek to impose his own personal prejudices (*Nachteile*).

CHAPTER VIII

THE "NEW INTELLECTUALISM"

1. *School Reform*

The public school is an establishment of the folk-commonwealth, and must serve its aims.

ERNST KRIECK.

Who has educated our young people for the struggle for liberty, and led them on to that struggle? Was it the philologists, or was it rather the storm leaders of the S.A. and the Hitlerjugend?

JOACHIM HAUPT.

THE changes in the social background of National Socialist youth mentioned in Chapter V came as a preliminary to general school reform. Up to 1937, and largely as a result of political upheaval in 1933, the schools were in a state of uncertainty and temporary confusion. There was a distinct lack of any clear-cut program set by the central authorities.[1] The delay was deliberate, the object as Rust has explained being to condition youth to National Socialism first through experience and practice, and afterward by theory. It was felt, for example, that active participation in farm work in the Landjahr movement would make youth conscious of the soil and his beloved land far more quickly than any lectures on the subject.[2] A program of sports and play with direct instruction in National Socialism found its mark more shrewdly and with much better results than the program of indirect instruction which the school might offer. Moreover, the spirit of community life is best promoted when members work and play together twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. The lasting emotional effects of community singing, dancing, and storytelling need little comment. The great stimulus that experience can give to the learning process is a psychological commonplace.

Increased emphasis on physique and character would seem to involve diminishing attention to matters of the intellect. The

1. Gräfe, *op. cit.*, pp. 273–274. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

length of the school day has not been increased; in fact, the decreased regard for the intellectual side of school life is wholly apparent in the simplified demands on students in their home study. There is an actual law to the effect that students shall have homework only four days a week out of the six.[3] Moreover, the original nine years spent in secondary school have now become eight.[4] It is not difficult for the onlooker to guess the feeling of adolescents toward purely intellectual attainment, when one considers that the party has plans for every available minute of their time. Leading National Socialist educators of course defend this policy. They maintain that a boy's time is now more carefully scheduled, that instead of being wasted in aimless pursuits, his day is made to include a good balance of all the activities that form a well-rounded adult. Increased emphasis on the physical-character aspects of his being has not meant decreased attention to "intellectualism." The latter holds its place; the former assume their "proper" relationship.[5]

In the latest official publication of the Ministry of Education, Rust orders that the level of education and instruction be not lowered by increased emphasis on other fields and the shortening of school attendance. Although on the surface such a requirement seems paradoxical, it is explained when one reads further to find that pupils who are not "efficient" and "suffer from obvious weakness of character or will" are to be excluded from the higher schools.[6] The result is obvious. With a selected

3. See R. Münch, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

4. *Erziehung und Unterricht in der höheren Schule*, Introduction. It is also possible for a talented youngster to complete elementary school in three years instead of four and enter secondary school by passing examinations. See *News in Brief*, monthly publication of the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (Berlin, 1937–38), V–VI, 54.

5. Bernhard Rust interprets Hitler as seeking a people able to use both *"Kopf und Faust"* (head and fist). See "Die Grundlagen der Nationalsozialistischen Erziehung," *Hochschule und Ausland*, monthly (Berlin, January, 1935), p. 2.

6. *Ibid.* Gräfe, *op. cit.*, p. 274, defends the shortening of the school year on the ground that the child was formerly "overschooled." In an interpretation of secondary-school philosophy with special reference to the Reform of 1938 and previous reforms, Gerhard Gräfe sees an effort toward a more "purposeful association of scientific, artistic and physical education in a community." The school takes as its standard the sum total of a pupil's qualifications and selects from all classes of the German nation those young people who will insure leadership for the next generation." See *ibid.*, p. 273.

group of students, scholastic accomplishment becomes easier and more rapid.[7]

The shifting of emphasis in the higher schools is more easily explained than in the elementary schools, where attendance is compulsory for children of all mentalities and capabilities. There are, however, at least two alleviating circumstances: first, the low leaving age (around nine years) and second, the fact that the state makes fewer demands on children under nine. But the great problem of elementary-school education lies elsewhere. This branch of the system is concerning itself more and more with problems of life in a National Socialist state; it is not a preparation for the higher schools. Here, if anywhere, is expressed the earnest desire to mold the child into the pattern which will develop the best in him, and at the same time render him a useful member of the national community.[8]

The elementary school (Grundschule) is the general foundation school for all German children, and a prerequisite for any further schooling.[9] Its special mission is to impart a vital sense of duty to Volk and nation upon which further education can be built.[10] The method of approach, through intuition and perception (Anschauung), enables the pupil to acquire "those skills and techniques necessary for a thoughtful understanding of German work, easy execution of simple tasks, and active participation in the cultural and creative life of the German people." In a sympathetic way, a clear picture is to be drawn of the wants and necessities of the fatherland, and an understanding established of its wealth and resources. Instruction must arouse pride in the hearts of young Germans that they are privileged to belong to a great nation, or race of people. Learning by observation or perception implies the use of materials of instruction in addition to the textbook, for example the radio and all types of visual education. Not that the fundamentals of

7. In actual practice this theory may well have its counterpart in the grade-skipping of gifted students in other countries.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

9. In cases where the family is not able to provide adequate care and training, children are admitted at the age of two and one-half to the Kindergarten. See Wilhelm, *German Education Today*, p. 11. School attendance is compulsory at the age of six. The Grundschule is the first four years of the eight-year Volksschule.

10. Sturm, *Deutsche Erziehung im Werden*, p. 132.

reading, writing, and arithmetic are to be cast aside; they are indispensable for proper understanding and knowledge. And to effect this knowledge certain definite skills from the realms of formal education must be mastered.[11]

Categorical subject matter still holds sway. Separate subjects are continued where integrated instruction if carried further would cease to be productive. There is criticism of mediate knowledge and "arbitrary" integration as causing diminished performance. "Instruction through intuitive perception in the first two years of (elementary) school is based on material drawn from the child's immediate world," the aim being to clarify and broaden the receptive qualities of the mind and prepare it for acquiring new ideas. Planned method begins in the third year. Hero concepts and heroism are ever prominent in all their phases, including both the silent heroic qualities of everyday life, and stories of the heroes of history and legend. The highest object of instruction is to fix the idea of retaining the homeland as a whole.[12]

Theodor Wilhelm interprets the aim of the elementary school to be that of a "gradual development of the natural aptitudes of the child into a moral will to work," applied at early stages within the sphere of the school curriculum.[13] Since the mind of the child during the early stages of life is "hostile to abstrac-

11. *Ibid.*, p. 133. Cf. Gräfe, *op. cit.*, p. 270: "The education of children in the lower four years of the elementary school is conditioned by life in the homeland." "Thus the aim is the achievement of necessary knowledge and skill, as a matter of course."

12. Part of the Elementary School Reform of 1937 given in *Deutsche Wissenschaft, Erziehung, und Unterricht,* p. 199 principally, an official educational monthly, April 20, 1937. Adolf Mertens: "Auf dem Wege zur deutschen Volksschule" in Hiller, *Deutsche Erziehung,* pp. 196–200; here Mertens devotes a great deal of energy to prove that heroics belong in elementary education; while much of his essay shows the necessity of general military education. "It is the duty of the future German Volksschule," says Mertens (agreeing with Frick), "to train the heroic and political man whose every thought and deed is dedicated unselfishly to the service of his people. We must cultivate the virtues of heroism" (p. 196).

13. Wilhelm excuses the "grumbling" of German boys and girls at a schooling "which aimed solely at cramming their minds with facts, but left their hearts empty and their enthusiasms damped." The all-important aim of such schools, says Wilhelm, was "to instruct" rather than "to educate." "But we young people do not want merely to be trained intellectually—we want to be educated in the fullest sense of the word, to be allowed the opportunity of developing all the faculties of our mind and body." *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1936), V, 126.

tions" and works "mainly by instinct," the course of study takes into account these limitations, and concerns itself with the natural world of the child, in which he develops his own ideas and expresses them in the language of childhood. Results are accomplished first by the use of hands and eyes in methodical practical work; second, by direct observation of work going on in field and factory; and third, by physical culture through games, gymnastics, and walks.[14]

The upper four classes of the elementary school prepare the pupil for a "practical" career. The aim is to base the education of the pupil on his own independent activity. Knowledge is not transmitted. Under the guidance of the teacher, it is discovered by personal observation, experiment, and independent conclusion. As in all German schools, the work carried out is not a one-sided, self-centered training of the intellect; it is aimed at a "balanced development of thought, desire, and behavior."[15]

14. John W. Taylor (Columbia University), *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12, analyzes the elementary-school situation as follows: "The guiding elements of the new reform are seen as: (1) a state school rooted in the blood and soil of Germany; (2) a school integrated with the life of the community; and (3) a school in which intellect is servant. Instruction in the new school is to be functional and is to consist of Krieck's 'organic unities' (*organische Einheiten*). The choosing of organic unities is to be guided by the social tensions and functions of the community. The 'units of work' which have become part of the vocabulary of progressive educators of America are directly comparable to Krieck. The emphasis in the new German school will fall, however, upon the living, organic part of expression. Naturally, the *unit* should not be lost sight of, but the *kind* of unit determines whether school life is changed in the right direction. The degree of success which attends the struggle to make the work of the German school a vital part of the community life will depend upon avoiding the pitfall which has caught so many American schools—namely, the creation of the school community, peopled with models and plans in a child world which is not reconcilable with life as it is. The German school reformers wish to lose the school in the life of the community." *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1936), V, 326.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13. By way of explanation, when a pupil has completed four years in elementary school he is usually ten years old; at that time he either goes to secondary school or remains four years longer in elementary school (Oberstufe). If he has been "elected" to go to secondary school, he remains there for eight years. A gifted pupil may enter secondary school for four years (Aufbauschule) after completing eight years of elementary school. School-leaving age is fourteen. At eighteen the boy enters the Arbeitsdienst for six months or a year, and then the army for two years, after which he embarks upon life's career or matriculates at a university. He is usually twenty-three or twenty-four years of age when he receives his university degree, provided, of course, he has served two years in the army. There are also many types of vocational schools and the central school (Mittelschule) which enable young people to take up posts of moderate importance in commerce and industry, trade and

The philosophy, aims and method of secondary education have been revised by the much-heralded Reform of 1938. At the risk of distortions which may arise from postponing the further examination of National Socialist educational theory we will plunge immediately into a description of the Reform, seeking at the same time to suggest briefly certain matters not strictly consistent with a general discussion of functioning philosophy.

The various items of the Reform, together with official government comment, form a fairly large volume which is of interest alike to the curriculum builder, the administrator, and the psychologist. Although designed specifically for secondary education, its implications reach into all fields of national political education.

The Reform as a whole covers both external and internal features of the system. Externally, it includes a condensation of the multifarious types of secondary school (Wilhelm says there were eighty!) into five main forms, namely, the Oberschule for boys, the Oberschule for girls, the Aufbauschule[16] for boys, the Aufbauschule for girls, and the Gymnasium, the last-named no longer remaining the only type of secondary school in any community. To interpret Wilhelm's summary, it appears that the task of the Gymnasium of the future will be "no longer to satisfy the cultural ambitions of those in whose eyes the old Real— or Oberrealschule—were not 'fine' enough." The German Gymnasium is now meant only for those whose serious intention it is to devote themselves to the classics.[17] All other elementary-school graduates attend the Oberschule or Aufbauschule.

Private schools other than those sponsored by the state or party are allowed only for those who need special attention be-

administration, and agriculture and forestry. It is a six-year course, and preserves some of the aspects of the regular secondary school, to which transfers are of course possible. Courses of study and specific teacher programs and methods as of October 26, 1938, are given in *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1939), III, 225–228, with an interpretation by Wilhelm under the title: "Die neue deutsche Studienordnung für das Lehramt an Volksschulen."

16. The Aufbauschule is a special form of the Oberschule. Whereas the latter is an eight-year school following the first four classes of the elementary school, the Aufbauschule is a six-year school continuing a six-year elementary course. Thus a gifted boy or girl of the village school is also to have the chance of attending the secondary school, the Aufbauschule being a boarding school with ample state scholarships.

17. Wilhelm, *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1939), VIII, 94. Rust, "Einführungserlass," *Erziehung und Unterricht,* p. 3.

cause of health or family conditions. Permission to operate private schools is granted only on the tested basis of the absolute political dependability of the headmaster and owners of the schools. Even then, they are under the careful supervision of the state, for in its very essence National Socialism does not and cannot acknowledge any right to attend or support autonomous private schools instead of public schools. Perhaps it goes without saying that the courses of study and the appointment of teachers must be strictly in accord with the principles laid down for public schools.[18]

With regard to the internal aspects of the school reform, the course of instruction shows increased emphasis on language, history, geography, biology, and the arts. Instruction in German "should rouse in our youth a belief in those creative forces of our people which lead to self-respect and self-assurance and, in so doing, should rid them of a national weakness which is so frequently displayed in our history, namely, the tendency to lose self-assurance in the overadmiration of everything non-German."[19] History shows the fateful struggle of nations for existence. It not only educates the pupil to respect the great German past, but also "to honor the right of existence of other nations." Geography ceases to pour purely scientific methods into the schools whereby "it cuts its own wings"; it now aims to satisfy the healthy love of adventure characteristic of youth, and guides it to an "appreciation of the world's interrelationships." It is biology's task to acquaint the pupil with living nature and her laws. "Its actual aim," the Minister says in his commentary, "is not to collect the greatest number of biological details, but to grasp the natural laws of life, to win respect for its unfathomable organic unity, and to gain insight into the fact that man as a natural being is woven into the tissue of nature."[20]

Perhaps the most salient, tangible element of the Reform

18. Law of January 22, 1938.

19. *Erziehung und Unterricht,* Introduction. For an excellent discussion in English of the Reform of 1938 see Gerhard Gräfe, "The New Order of German Education," *Yearbook of Education* (1939), pp. 272–278; on the teaching of German and "Germandom" see p. 277.

20. *Erziehung und Unterricht,* pp. 35–36, 140–142 principally. Gräfe, *op. cit.,* pp. 274–275. For an extensive description of what to teach and how to teach it, see *Handbuch für den Deutschunterricht,* Rudolf Murtfeld, editor, Langensalza, 1937. 2 vols.

may be found in the revision of language instruction. In the Oberschulen English and Latin are the two compulsory languages. The three top classes of these schools are divided into two groups, a language group, and a natural science and mathematics group. In the language group, French is added to English and Latin. The foreign languages of the Gymnasium are Latin, Greek, and English. Observers familiar with the former language policy of the German secondary school will note the present removal of emphasis on French and other romance languages, with a concomitant increase in the study of English. What are the implications of this revision in particular, and of the Reform in general?

It would be unfair if Rust, as chief authority, were not first consulted in explanation of his policy. Since Germany is "so poor in territory and natural resources," its real wealth lies in the faith and efficiency of its people. It is the duty of the German school, therefore, to educate men who in faithful devotion to "Führer and country" will be able to lead a *German* life and perform the tasks which Germany has to fulfill.[21] The special character of the school is to bring this about through instruction, but the school's main task is not to produce "intellectuals" but to impart through *vital* teaching the principles complementary to physical training in the proper development of character and the whole man.[22]

The privilege of attending the secondary schools implies acceptance of greater responsibility, and also betokens special abilities. But the purpose is not to foster specialization. Secondary schools do not train for the professions; that is the business of the university. The secondary school "sifts out capable youngsters willing and ready to accept more responsible tasks, and develops in them those capacities of decision, trust-worthi-

21. Rust, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Michael Demiashkevich has a free translation of parts of the Reform in *Educational Forum* (November, 1938), pp. 81-95.

22. *Ibid.* Wilhelm agrees with Rust as follows: "We hold that intellectuality is actually *not* the most important part of man. The rationalist of the nineteenth century believed that the training of our intellect would meet the most essential needs of our being. We are, however, of the opinion that will power, courage, chivalry, and readiness of mind and action are of paramount educational importance. Not mere knowledge but the ability to decide—the very fact that I make up my mind to do this and not that—is the surest path to truth, the most reliable guide to the true nature of things." *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1935), V, 126.

ness, and accomplishment that will fit them for the proper bearing of professional responsibility." Secondary-school students are not considered "learned" in contrast to those whose destiny lies in other fields, for the lowest unskilled laborer may be of more value to the community at certain times than the wisest scholar (cf. Hitler and Bäumler).

The German schools with their curricula are "uniform because their task is uniform." Instruction must keep in contact with practical life, and not produce instability and absentmindedness; it must be enthusiastic, for without enthusiasm there can be little mental growth; and it must be creative, for the ability to learn does not depend wholly on intelligence.

"Instruction [observe Rust's subtlety] must always be education."[23] It must begin with concrete things, work its way through the interests and talents of the pupil, and then proceed to the "unknown." It must be "attractive," yet "strict" (not one of the easiest problems of the teacher!), for the success of educational work depends on the healthy, disciplined behavior of the one who learns.[24]

Karl Schwarz, editor of *Kurzbericht*[25] and a capable young confrère of Theodor Wilhelm, hails the new reform as an end of the "overschooling" of German youth. He welcomes the lower learning age as a valuable aid to Germany's economic revival. The wide variety of new avenues of occupation, "so long debarred to youth," demands more and more skilled workers; while the "restoration of national military sovereignty," as he puts it, has made a shortage in certain types of professions. With an earlier start in life, the youngster will be able more quickly to reach his occupational goal.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 17. Education is conceived here as the "drawing out process" from the Latin *educere*.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 18–22. Adolf Hübl has published a series of articles on the reconstruction of the higher schools in various editions of *Neues Wiener Abendblatt*, a Vienna daily newspaper. See especially the edition of July 27, 1938: "Zum Neubau der Höheren Schule," which has a short review of Rust's publication. The purpose of these articles was, by the way, to inform Austria of the new German education which would take the place of her own as a result of the Anschluss. Bulletin 15, 1938, of the U.S. Office of Education has a very faithful reproduction, in English of course, of the main features of the Reform, particularly of such technical matters as have no place here.

25. *Kurzbericht* (*News in Brief*), monthly publication of the *Akademischer Austauschdienst*, Berlin.

Schwarz excuses the shift in emphasis from French language study to English as a reflection of the historic course of development of German thought; as a consequence of Versailles things French are losing their brilliant attraction. However, he is quick to remark that this does not lead in any way to the repudiation of romance culture in general. Actually, the reëstablishment of Latin "as an instrument of precise thought and mental discipline" will insure the continued influence of the humanistic heritage by opening up "the only sure path to a deeper penetration" into the larger realm of romance culture as a whole; not simply French culture, as has been largely the case in the past. Schwarz refers, moreover, to the economic benefits of English as a required language in response to "the practical demands of our modern economic and business life."

Schwarz sums up the Reform by interpreting the new educational ideal of National Socialism as a "transformation that can no longer preoccupy itself with the acquisition of intensive but often useless knowledge in this or that single branch of study." The new education must aim above all at a "clear mental grasp and survey of cardinal forces, and a profounder insight into the relation of details to the whole."[26]

Viewed in broad perspective, certain additional features of the official plan stand out in contrast to former school procedure. Among them might be listed the increased time allotted to subjects touching upon Deutschtum or things German; the small number of electives, consecutiveness of subjects ("subject constants"); increased attention to physical education, decreased emphasis on religion, fixed scheduling, uniformly established and regulated school hours, and the lack of any group of courses intensively studied. It would seem, even after the most cursory examination, that now at last school education has been put on a unified basis in accordance with an officially accepted philosophy. In large measure it has all worked out as previously conceived by many nationalistic educational philosophers even before National Socialism. Certainly this is the ripened grain from Hitler's philosophic storehouse. German education is now redirected "into the life stream" of people and nation. National Socialism sees to it that the school "will be with"

26. Schwarz, *op. cit.* (1937), V, 62–64.

young people throughout their entire growth, for under this scheme education "captures the heart" of youth.[27]

2. *The National Socialist Teacher*

It is a long step from the liberal to the national political educator.

JOACHIM HAUPT.

In the epoch of military preparedness more is expected of the teacher than merely the awakening of pride and enthusiasm for arms.

ALFRED BÄUMLER.

AN investigation into the transformation of German educational procedures is hardly complete without some mention of the teacher, for obviously ideological principles can hardly be taught if the teacher is not trained to impart them.[28] The National Socialist Teachers' Union (*Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund*) formed in 1927 was quick to absorb the spirit of National Socialism in 1933 and has been an effective instrument both for guiding and propagating official educational ideals.

In the National Socialist view, the former training of teachers in Germany suffered on the one hand "because of the deep social gulf between the elementary and the secondary-school teacher, and on the other hand because of the variety of different systems of training." The "solution" has now been found in the Teacher Training College (*Hochschule für Lehrerbildung*). These Hochschulen have the rank of a university, but avoid its "one-sided academization" in order to concentrate on the practical work of the schools.[29] With education the most important weapon in establishing political principles, no effort is spared to find and train the proper wielders of it. The new training colleges are being constructed in rural districts, for the teacher must become imbued with respect for rugged, rustic life, an experience which will help him "drink in and assimilate the glories of the German race."[30] In the pointed words of Gerhard Giese,

27. For further comment on the theory behind the Reform see the final chapter.

28. "A school is as valuable as the teachers who work in it." Rust, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

29. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

30. *Der Volksschullehrer*, publication of the *Reichsministerium für Erziehung* (Berlin, 1938), p. 5 principally.

the teacher is no longer "simply the child's advocate"; he must "ever be the servant of the state."[31]

Bernhard Rust voices the official point of view with regard to the teacher in the National Socialist scheme of education: "It is only through the teacher that the real reform of German education can come." Success in training men of decision whose interest is primarily in national welfare depends upon the teacher, and the teacher himself must be possessed of the new spirit and sense of responsibility for his profession. Moreover, he should rejoice in the new system, for he need no longer concentrate on his own subject. Instead of being hampered by subject-matter limitations, he may dwell on the wider and more generalized field of National Socialist philosophy of life. National Socialist Weltanschauung is not a special subject or a field of practical endeavor, but the very foundation of instruction. It becomes, therefore, a point of focus for the organization of subject matter; a new and long-sought-for means of unifying the various branches of the curriculum. This challenges the teacher to expand the scope of his endeavor to a "wider and more fruitful field," thus taking advantage of personal interests and qualifications which would be ignored if concentration were limited to particularized subjects. In the language of educators, the teacher now has an opportunity to "integrate" his pupil in the given field of National Socialist philosophy and ideology.[32]

In addition to "racial spirit," the proposed teacher must possess the "military spirit."[33] To this end, he is introduced to the hardships of camp life and hiking. He studies topography, learns to compute distances, practices hand signals in the Morse code, and learns to cook outdoors. The nationalistic spirit is developed by eulogizing German heroes and studying such recent poets as Hans Grimm, Walter Flex, Wehner, Zoerbelin, Beumelburg, Blunck, and others. Throughout his six years of training, the teacher must be made aware that the supreme duty of German education is to impress youth with the idea that service to the country, military or otherwise, is the greatest honor a man can achieve.

31. Gerhard Giese, *Staat und Erziehung* (Hamburg, 1933), p. 155.

32. Rust, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19. Rust does not say what the teacher will do if a pupil is not interested in the integration.

33. Wilhelm Frick, quoted in *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat*, pp. 158–162.

German students who wish to become teachers are discouraged and even barred from higher institutions if in the opinion of the authorities they are physically, mentally, morally, or racially defective. Examinations become more strict as the student progresses, so that in the end only those who combine the following qualifications in the greatest degree are allowed to teach: (1) National Socialist Weltanschauung including the accepted scientific outlook; (2) some ability in an athletic way; and (3) an innate and active ability to teach the young.[34]

Certain details of the teacher-training procedure are evidence of the philosophy in practice. The curriculum as a whole is broadly divided into six categories with several subdivisions. The first category concerns the general theory of education and pedagogics, and includes the history of pedagogics, pedagogical systems, psychology and ethics, and the history of philosophy and logic. Another branch specializes in the theory of administration and teaching in specialized fields. The typically German idea of practice-teaching is incorporated in a third division which transfers the teacher to an actual teaching setup.[35] Other divisions concentrate on Volk study, physical training, fine and industrial arts.[36]

In brief, the training of the elementary-school teacher consists of four years in the Volkschule, eight years in the secondary school, two to three years' compulsory service for the Reich

34. There are two types of schools for the training of elementary-school teachers: the *Hochschule für Lehrerbildung,* which is usually coeducational and sectarian, and the pedagogical institute which is incorporated or affiliated with the university. In order to enter a typical teacher-training university, the candidate ordinarily must have had twelve years of school training, and must pass a very selective examination. Besides this, he must furnish proof of his German citizenship, his Aryan descent, his activity in "storm groups" and voluntary work service. His personality must be "adapted"; he must be proficient in athletics; and he must be able to sing and play some instrument. Female candidates are subject to requirements which are equally rigid, but in place of political activity, they must produce evidence of their proficiency in sewing, housekeeping, and cooking. (Catalogue of *Lehrerinnenanstalt, Hannover,* 1938–39. *Der Volksschullehrer,* pp. 5–13.)

35. In Hanover, for example, an elementary school and a teachers' college were purposely built side by side.

36. The academic course lasts two years. When this is completed, the student must pass a state examination consisting of a written thesis on some topic of professional value and an oral test on subjects contained in the curriculum. If successful, he is then qualified to teach but must pass a probation period of two years more, during which he receives practice in teaching under observation of school inspectors.

(work service and the army), two years' professional training and probation, and a final examination on "common-sense" teaching problems. At the age of twenty-four or twenty-five, the teacher is permanently accepted.[37]

The training of the secondary-school teacher differs from that of the elementary-school teacher in that his higher education, involving a period of from eight to twelve semesters, terminates in the doctor's degree. After this, he spends two years in a seminary connected with a secondary school, the obvious purpose being to experience the life of a teacher before accepting a permanent position. The long-awaited appointment comes five years later, when the candidate is about twenty-seven years old, and is dependent upon the demand.[38]

As the National Socialists interpret the new system, the future German teacher will be far from the "stoop-shouldered pedagogue whom children do not understand and others pity, in spite of his scholarship." He will present rather the rugged picture of an outdoor man, skilled in sports and military technic, and will at the same time be in some sense a statesman, well grounded in National Socialism, and well trained in the inculcation of its principles.[39] The professed ideal is to produce teachers who are not mere "knowledge mongers," interested solely in the intellects of their pupils; but teachers who have sufficient power to develop personality, not only in school but outside regular working hours.

37. Mimeographed requirements issued by the *Sophienschule für Mädchen* in Hanover. See also *Der Volkslehrer*. An excellent discussion of the teacher in the Third Reich is to be found in Foerster's "German Education in 1936," *Nineteenth Century*, 122, 447–461.

38. There is professedly a scarcity of teachers in Germany today. Hundreds of Austrian teachers were imported into Germany to relieve the surplus there. See *Völkischer Beobachter*, Munich, July 15, 1938.

39. *Deutsche Wissenschaft* (November 5, 1937), p. 461. *Der Volksschullehrer*, p. 13: "Die politische Aufgabe." This is but a reflection of the spirit of a previous essay by Rust, "Die Grundlagen der Nationalsozialistischen Erziehung," pp. 6–8, in which he states that a teacher who does not understand the principles of Volk and national (German) unity has no place in his scheme of education. "The way to the everlasting sources of blood and soil must be mirrored in the training of the teacher," says Rust (p. 6). In another place Wilhelm sounds a warning to the teacher as follows: "Youth is anxious to embrace everything that contributes to enthusiasm, devotion, courage, and good will, and every teacher must of necessity lose his hold on young hearts, who thinks he can satisfy them merely by feeding their intellectual appetite. This is the very reason why, for three decades, the young have continuously turned away from school with disinterest and dislike." *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1935), V, 126.

Nor does this betray the cause of scholarship. National Socialist educators hasten to differentiate between "academic work" and "an academic system of education." The natural impulse toward research and inquiry is not suppressed; as a matter of fact, an effort is made to preserve individual development, and the "valuable intellectual discipline of academic work." Academic training will always be an important element in the training of teachers, but it must take place in an atmosphere similar to that which the teacher will later find with his pupils; "an atmosphere of strict selection, comradeship, social harmony, and camplike discipline." The teacher is not to be compared with the university professor who needs specialization; the teacher must, above all else, be a man of fine character and effective personality, a man "likely to prove a steadfast and enthusiastic leader of the children entrusted to him."[40]

3. *Irrationalism and the University*

We perceive and acknowledge no truth for the sake of truth, no science for the sake of science.

ERNST KRIECK (1935).

The discerning man does not live on an island of intellectual contemplation; he lives by perceiving *right* in the heart of the universe.

BERNHARD RUST (1935).

The mind does not derive any abstract rule from without, nor does it move toward any external aim; nowise does it proceed out of itself, but comes to itself.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, *Mythus.*

Education has no sure foundation if it is not constructed on the scientific principles of anthropology (*Menschenkunde*).

ALFRED BÄUMLER (1934).

but

Race is not so much a cognition as it is an avowal, an avowal of character values. Race is feeling, not a reality.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, *Mythus.*

40. Wilhelm, *German Education Today,* pp. 34–36. A valuable review of the "point of departure," aims, and methods in the training of the teacher is to be found in *Frankfurter Zeitung* (November 27, 1938), p. 36, under the title, "Der neue Volksschullehrer." The article states that the "new" teacher shall not be trained primarily in academic knowledge, but "in the newly blossomed spirit of our Volk." The motto is, "Humanity [*Menschlichkeit*] before intellectualism." Cf. also Ernst Krieck on the qualities of teachers as youth leaders; *Internationale Zeitschrift,* III, 308.

On the occasion of the 550th anniversary of the founding of Heidelberg University, Bishop Durham explained England's refusal to participate in the celebration in the following letter to the *London Times:* "It cannot be right that the Universities of Great Britain, which we treasure as the very citadels of sound learning, because they are the vigilant guards of intellectual freedom, should openly fraternize with the avowed shameless enemies of both."[41] And the *Spectator* protested against forthcoming university celebrations to be held in honor of the 200th anniversary of Göttingen: "To celebrate the humiliation of Göttingen on such a day would be, for delegates from England, a betrayal of everything for which our universities are supposed to stand, a disavowal of the ideals which have made the German universities great in the past, and will one day make them great again."[42] This attitude has been quite generally shared in America. Whether or not foreign universities are wholly justified in their condemnation of the educational pattern, apart from the shock of abrupt transition, depends on one's own ideals and one's conclusions in regard to the new conception of university functions in Germany. Of primary interest at this point is the redirected educational philosophy applied through National Socialist interpretations to German universities today.

Objectivity, freedom of research, and impartiality in learning in German higher education have found new and revolutionary interpretations under National Socialism: they are not essential characteristics of science or scientific method. Since all scientific systems of the past have been supported by certain fixed beliefs as to the meaning of the world and man's function in it, it is human personality and a standard of values that become the basis of science.

In contrast to "inherited" belief, National Socialism rejects the principle that every human being possesses the same kind of reason as an unfounded, unproved supposition of "free learning." Likewise, eternal progress in learning is not proportionate to the eternal progress of humanity (Rust).[43] It all depends

41. *New York Times Current History,* 44 (April, 1936), 87–88.

42. *Spectator,* British weekly, March 26, 1937, from an article entitled "An Invitation to Decline." For an answer to this charge see *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1937), III, 206–208: "Göttingen, Spectator und die Wahrheit."

43. Quoted by Wilhelm, *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1939), II, 98–99.

on the concept of what man is. It may be admitted that man's freedom in the moment of thinking is unlimited and absolute, but in the progress of intellectual endeavor he remains inexorably a member of a "natural and historical order." This is not merely an incidental reality; it is man's fate, his destiny through blood and history, and as such must be both humbly and proudly accepted. Perception which fails to acknowledge the ties of a social order is meaningless. Impersonality of learning (*Weltanschauungslosigkeit*) paralyzes the powers of decision and justifies even the most deplorable conditions, provided they fall within the accepted proofs of an objective study. National Socialism, says Rust in effect, does not rob learning of its independence; it does not command research; it gives "that new basis with which to create strength and assurance for itself."[44]

Expulsions from German university faculties are a result of these convictions. Dismissed professors were not exponents of pure learning; they were, by the above token, partisans willy-nilly of a political creed which aimed at the overthrow of order and did not accord with the aims of National Socialism. These "savants" had to be ousted because they used the dominating ideology of objectivism and impersonal science as a cover, a welcome protection, for the pursuit of private objectives. Their "little world of private research," while possessing certain values, did not fit in with the newly accepted organic mode of life. Rather than risk undermining a social order destined to give Germany rebirth, government officials chose to dispense with any confusion which might arise from "misunderstood" individual objectivism.[45]

Let us now turn to a few of the leading interpretations of

44. *Ibid.* Cf. Grunsky (*Seele und Staat*, p. 77): "Blood and spirit [intellect] cannot exist without each other." On p. 78, "Thought [*Idee*] without instinct is degenerative [*Entartung*]."

45. *Ibid.*, p. 97. See also Joachim Haupt, "Nationalsozialistische Geschichtsauffassung," *Hochschule und Ausland* (April, 1935), pp. 1–6. Haupt adds the view that on the basis of the folk idea an organic connection may be effected between natural and spiritual science, and the way is paved for learning to reach political reality through historical (ethnical) observation and examination (p. 6). Cf. Rosenberg, *Mythus*, p. 629: "Though every care has to be observed as regards facts, our present generation demands a new consideration of the political and cultural events of the past. Consequently, an absolute freedom of instruction, such as has been practiced up to now, must be repudiated. Freedom of investigation must of course be maintained as an indispensable weapon in the struggle against Syria and Rome."

scientific attitude. In one of his many Heidelberg addresses Ernst Krieck grants the principle of objectivity in scientific research provided it represents real sincerity and a realistic method of approach on the part of the scientist. When, however, objectivity is a "pretension to absolutism of scientific perception," or more pointedly, as a pretension to "existence apart from living foundations," then it must be repudiated as representing the "arrogance of a superhuman being" who "unforgivably deludes both himself and his fellow men." Eternal truths are revealed only as they are pursued with "sincerity" and as they are "measured by the needs of *present* life." Even then, the proper revelation of them comes only according to the qualities and measure of our character. Any mortal man promising or professing to promise more than this is guilty of self-deception and "falls victim to hybridism."[46]

What Krieck really means is that no existing generation can ever succeed in grasping final and eternal truths, much less crystallize them within its own limits. It is not within the scope and grasp of science to predetermine scientific standards and methods, to preëstablish the tasks and solutions of future generations. Other generations will arrive at other forms of truth. "It is presumptuous," concludes Krieck, "to make modern science the absolute standard for the methods of perception of past generations." If we fulfill the tasks that fall to us in our day, then it may be said that "the trace of our mortal days cannot be lost in eternity."[47]

The same policy of present needs and demands as the proper basis for research is outlined by Bernhard Rust in a speech on the relationship of National Socialism and science.[48] The basis of science must be a philosophy of life, a living point of view. Out of the realization that National Socialism sets itself the task of restoring a new faith in its own substance to a people split up within itself and despairing of its future; out of the will to effect a new unity of the nation through the living forces of the people has come the necessity of drawing all realms of science into the stream of the new order of things, and of reconstructing "specious" scientific method and procedure. This had

46. *News in Brief* (1936), pp. 189 ff.
47. Extract in *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1936), VI, 452.
48. *News in Brief, cit. supra.*

to be accomplished, it is true, at the sacrifice of a certain amount of free thought (of a definite kind), but only out of respect for the primordial right of the national state, "for the foundation of its life in accordance with its own law." Exiled free thought represented the regime National Socialism had cast out; it was "antagonistic to German recovery." In self-defense, National Socialism looks to Plato in whose judgment "only true citizens may philosophize," and to Schelling, who said that "nothing can be achieved without the prevalence of natural forces . . .," and, "The loftiest expressions of the soul are lifeless and ineffectual for the world without a forceful sensuousness."[49]

Rust has no hesitation in launching a violent attack upon the common conception of objectivity prevailing abroad. He claims that the position of man, a creature of blood and history, both as a subject of supposition and as master in the sphere of pure science at the same time, is a lamentable contradiction; "it marks at least one point where science rises and falls with its own objectivity." The National Socialist point of view, on the other hand, is not to be interpreted either as part of the *nature* of science or a substitute for it, as so many have understood it; it is the basic hypothesis from which science must proceed, because it is the source from which every creation of the human intellect takes its growth and assumes its form. Real objectivity begins with this hypothesis, and becomes really free and independent only as it uses this "characteristic method of approach to reality."[50]

Although in National Socialism demands are admittedly made upon scientists, the law of science is not to be replaced by one of politics. The scholar must, nevertheless, remain conscious of his responsibility toward his people, and of the fact that the results of his work affect the general welfare. In a declaration which summarizes the general attitude on science, Rust obscurely rules: "Science is as much free as it is bound; it is bound in substance by something that is not in itself science, but is free in the form of its treatment of reality."[51]

This quasi-conundrum brings one to the possible conclusion

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.;* cf. also Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 120, on the dependence of science on blood.

51. Cf. Ernst Forsthoff, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Dr. Forsthoff cannot reconcile the granting of very much concrete freedom to abstract, indefinable art and sci-

that scientific research cannot be the end-all in itself, since the very riddle of life has not as yet been scientifically proved; science cannot therefore prove the absolute, permanent, and perfect truth of anything, because it is influenced and limited by the changing and often unscientific conditions of life. Acceptance is given, we see, to "vital" science and scientific procedure, a science that does not presuppose the ultimate discovery of absolute, objective truths.[52]

As for any "conflict" between the aims of National Socialism and those of science, Rust is at a loss to find it. The very stipulation of the life force of National Socialism is perceived in science, in that its theories are "grounded in the laws of nature and history." "No real antagonism can ever exist between science and the purpose of the National Socialist state," says Rust, "for [the latter] is firmly convinced of the truth of its elementary discoveries for all spheres of physical life."

Rust's self-contradiction is obvious. After asserting that present truths do not hold for the future, he assumes a permanent agreement of National Socialism and science. Then, after giving very definite reasons why National Socialism "places demands on science," he states that it "does not need to regulate science." The first contradiction may be excused if National Socialism evolves its principles as life continues—an assumption for which there is naturally as yet no justification; while the second one seems to be a transparent attempt to cope with a "vital" local problem, the solution of which is apparently not within the grasp of those who are "race-alien."[53]

But the fact remains that a transformation of science to include its "inner interrelationship with Volk" (*„Volksgebundenheit der Wissenschaft,"* Rust calls it) can originate only in a revised idea of science, and establishment of the new idea of man.[54] National Socialist scientific thought, therefore, is dis-

ence. It tends to make the artist and scientist irresponsible and leads to abuse of the common good.

52. Walther Schulze-Sölde, *Politik und Wissenschaft,* Berlin, 1934, has for its general theme the assertion that science must be sustained by the "formulative forces" (*bildende Kräfte*) of life. Its present autonomy must be replaced by a foundation of knowledge that is in accordance with racial propriety (*artgemäss*).

53. Cf. p. 93.

54. Cf. Bäumler, "Rasse als Grundbegriff der Erziehungswissenschaft," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1939), IV, 255: Education with "folk" limits "is not

tinguished by its "clear" concept of intuition, which finds its own intrinsic value in the timelessness of its striving for truth.[55]

Ernst Krieck carries on the idea of the "peculiar national character necessary to science." Krieck's erudition is steeped in deeper historic and philosophic thought than that of his master, but the professor comes out with the same conclusions, the more insistent, perhaps, or the more perplexing, because of his great fondness for ratiocination. Krieck denies the possibility of scientific absolutism on the ground that every nation in every period must pattern its life according to its own law and "corresponding fate." Science is only a part of this law. "It is above all no homogeneous phase of meaning" (typical Krieckian phraseology), but "a collective conception of phenomena of the most varied kind and origin." Invoking Goethe, as do most Germans in proving their point, Krieck asserts that true science involves essential elements of humanity and life-structure in accordance with the great poet's words: "Only what is productive is true." To Krieck, all knowledge is attitude; knowledge rests upon decision and "organic valuation." Truth is not an abstraction; it depends upon a preëxisting image in the mind of the scholar. Playing with words, Krieck substitutes scientific politics for the National Socialist political science, which is "heroic and militant."[56] Obviously truckling to the edict of the Minister of Education, Krieck promises that German science

an invention of racial educational science but a matter of actuality [*Wesensmerkmal*] in human existence."

55. Speech on the occasion of the 550th anniversary of the University of Heidelberg, 1936, procurable from the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*. Berlin. See also Wilhelm Burmeister's "Der deutsche Geist in der Welt der Gegenwart," *Hochschule und Ausland* (January, 1937); pp. 7, 8 define the "folk idea" in education with its accompanying "German spirit" of the present. Burmeister calls this idea a "reversion to olden times," a "reconnection [*Verknüpfung*] with old Greek life that Germany has never before attained." Referring to the Greek unity of spirit, body and soul (*Geist, Körper, Seele*), with emphasis on the body, Burmeister condones present German trends in emphasizing the body and blood against the onslaught of intellectualism. Burmeister is, or was, *Leiter* of the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (German Student Exchange).

56. Krieck, *Nationalpolitische Erziehung*, pp. 118–119. According to Joachim Haupt, "the political element in education is based on the law of nature that man has never lived, and never can live, to himself alone, and can only develop his own most intimate personality through the fulfillment of his duties in a community. But a man's natural community is his nation." *Yearbook of Education* (1935), p. 927.

will continue to demand "a certain ethical attitude" on the part of its research men, to include "sincerity" (and here we simply repeat the other unfathomable qualifications), "liberty, universal-basic outlook, and accuracy of approach." Truth is still the way and precept of science, Krieck concedes, but its root is in Weltanschauung and its end is "the formation of man and the creation of a national living order according to the character and national laws of the community concerned."[57]

Among his many other assets, Georg Usadel has the thrice-blessed quality of simplicity. He offers as a complement to his colleagues' ideas of "learning for race-consciousness" the theory of "race-consciousness in learning." This government spokesman grants that all learning must be brought into relationship with the life of the nation, without necessarily violating the subject matter involved. But he transcends this ideal to agree with Hans Schemm that all subject matter should be treated as "applied politics." By this method the subject matter under discussion must be handled either as the "result" of the creative instinct of the German people or as "contrary to" their nature and inheritance.[58]

Usadel spends a great deal of time defending the importance of studying the "biological substance of the race"—which can be safeguarded only through a policy of "political order within"—in that "our natural tendency for separation and seclusion must be counterbalanced," and yet "our inherent desire for freedom be preserved." What is meant here by "political order within" is the leadership principle whereby all followers, out of consideration for the "debt" owed to their ancestors, have an obligation to serve the German people, "not under pressure from the outside but out of their own free, inner will."[59]

57. Krieck, Speech at Heidelberg, procurable with Rust's Speech, *loc. cit.* Krieck remains true to form; in 1932 when his *Nationalpolitische Erziehung* first appeared he stated: "Absolute academic freedom is absolute nonsense," p. 173. The university is only a part of a whole, and that whole is represented and governed by the state (*ibid.*). For further exposition of his theory in this regard see *ibid.* (1938 ed.), pp. 157 ff. on "Die Hochschule."

58. Georg Usadel, *Wissen, Erziehung, Schule* (Munich, 1938), p. 13. See also his article, "Zum Freiheitsbegriff des Nationalsozialismus," *Hochschule und Ausland* (January, 1937), pp. 14–21. Here Usadel argues for the defense of German unity and freedom within "natural" limits and in accordance with the "community of blood" (*Blutsgemeinschaft*). See especially p. 19. Incidentally, Usadel quotes Goethe at length to defend National Socialism.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

A word or two from Bäumler pictures for us the fighting instinct in every scientist. This warrior-philosopher sees science as producing "bold and daring spirits," for "all real [scientific] discoveries presuppose courage above everything else." Furthermore, "What is a problem? A problem is an opponent whom the intellect hastens to pursue." It calls man forth to the struggle, and man seeks to conquer it. The outcome is that every acquisition of knowledge is a triumph; every solved problem a victory. Nor is the struggle for knowledge a straightforward and easy one, for Bäumler summons all the arts of cunning, tenacity, decision, and bravery as necessary implements in the attainment of sound learning.[60] But more of the Berlin professor's Spartan reflections later.

Further interpretation of contemporary National Socialist philosophy of higher education would be but an embellishment of similar theory to the point of surfeit. It would be a privilege to quote Sturm on this topic because his accomplishment is held in such high regard in Germany, but in this case he must be upbraided for lack of originality, and for offering, hidden away as a subtopic, a mere lean, bare paragraph on the subject. But Sturm must be set down as devotee of a scientific attitude "attainable only as it takes its root in Weltanschauung," and valuable "only as it serves the whole people."[61]

The new autonomy and liberty of science under National Socialism lie, apparently, in its power to act as intellectual organ of the vital forces of the people and their historical destiny. Its aim is to present them in accordance with accepted laws of truth. This would be a summary of the case. It seems fairly involved, but that is the penalty of indulging in summaries. The function of science might be extended to include the necessary awareness of racial substance and soul;[62] it must apply unconditionally to politics (National Socialism exclusively, of course); it cannot and must not declare perpetual truths; and it must be ready to admit of new relationships and the "new" image of man.

60. Bäumler, *Männerbund und Wissenschaft*, p. 100. See also p. 107: "Theory and practice are identical to bold venture [*Wagnis*]."

61. Sturm, *Deutsche Erziehung im Werden*, p. 135.

62. Cf. Grunsky, *op. cit.*, p. 104: "National Socialism recognizes the homogeneousness [*Zusammengehörigkeit*] of education and race."

The United States Office of Education has sponsored a fully adequate description of the technicalities of university curricula under National Socialism, so that there is no need to uncover further details of that branch of education.[63] However, a brief commentary on the ideology just expressed, and on the more recent developments in curriculum philosophy, may not come amiss.

The principal theme of all instruction is that of present-day interests. This is obvious in the increased attention given to the "biological safety and safeguarding [*Sicherung*] of German folkdom," and with it Germany's "spiritual, military, and material rearmament." As is to be expected, lectures and reading have given greater weight to the values of racial thought and inheritance (*Erblehre*).[64] With Volkstum as the guiding principle, a comprehensive (*übergreifend* really has the idea of "encroaching") integration of specialized subjects is being effected, whereby the scientific aims of anthropology may come to terms with the spiritual aims of such studies as history and psychology. Such a process does not seek to confuse the sovereign spheres of each particular subject, but to create a "mutual complement [*Ergänzung*] in the realization of larger pedagogical values."

All aspects of the race question come in for their lion's share of treatment. A schedule of the university includes such studies as racial thought, racial inheritance, racial biology, racial politics, racial history,[65] race and culture, racial legislation and off-

63. "Education in Germany" (Bull. 15 of the U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 1938), pp. 38 ff.

64. Edmund Mudrak, "Die Aufgaben der Volkskunde als einer lebendigen Wissenschaft," *Hochschule und Ausland,* June, 1938. This is an explanation of German folklore as a political science. See pp. 371–379.

65. The teaching of history has undergone a most radical change. Dr. Frick has declared: "We must demand that the depicting of the history of civilization shall not take precedence over political history which forms the destiny of all nations." He further states that history should be based on the racial idea, and that the heroic episodes should be emphasized in order to awaken enthusiasm. The latter idea, Frick feels, is in harmony with the German conception of life and leads to a philosophy which will give the German people new strength in their struggle for national existence in "a hostile world." See his Speech quoted in *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat* (Berlin, 1933), p. 158. Tessan, *op. cit.,* p. 148, declares: "The teaching of history in Germany will henceforth be reduced to the glorification of the German race and the political preparation of young generations." The study of International Relations takes on the tone of propaganda as can be seen by the attitude of Moritz Edelmann, president of the

shoots therefrom to include such matters as the Jewish problem, and the influence of race on music and other realms of German endeavor.[66]

In practically every faculty new subjects have arisen under the general caption of "military considerations" (*Rücksichten*), comprising such subjects as "defense physics" (*Wehrphysik*), "defense medicine," "defense psychology," "military rewards and punishments," and other lesser courses too numerous for mention. The material side of self-defense is featured largely in the Hochschulen (specialized colleges, not high schools) where economics, both industrial and agrarian, and technical and commercial studies take on a special relation to the politics of National Socialism and the problems of self-sufficiency and conservation.[67]

In this manner "the spirit of the times" has effectively penetrated even the more specialized branches of scientific study, so that they all have a political accent with "the common welfare" (*Volksganze*) always at heart. The effort to coördinate these diversified branches of science has been expressed in the compulsory attendance of all faculties at common lectures on "unified science and its national political aspects" (*Einheit der Wissenschaft unter volkspolitischen Aspekten*). Lastly, individual effort is fostered by the increased number of laboratory facilities and a closer relationship between faculty and students. "Learning by experience" is the rule of instruction, and believing is more the result of seeing than of hearing or reading.[68]

Deutscher Geschichtslehrerverband (German History Teachers' Association). He says: "From the Armistice up to the time when Hitler came into power, the German people had been plunged into an abyss of depression by the weakness, the cowardice, and the treason of persons who were not pure Germans. They had nothing more honorable in their ranks than a collection of Jews, Marxists, and *'Untermenschen.'*" See especially his *Volkwerden der Deutschen die letzten 15 Jahre,* Berlin, 1935.

66. *Frankfurter Zeitung,* special Sunday educational supplement, November 27, 1938, article entitled, "Der Fahrplan der Studien."

67. *Ibid.*

68. Joachim Haupt complements this with the principle of *"Sein geht vor Wissen"* (being comes before knowing). *Yearbook of Education* (1935), p. 930. In spite of what has been said about the suppression of Catholicism in Germany, it must be pointed out that Catholic theological faculties are maintained by the universities of Bonn, Breslau, Freiburg, Munich, Münster, and Würzburg. See Ludwig Aschoff, *Akademische Ehre und Freiheit* (Freiburg, 1936), pp. 6–8. One of Aschoff's theses is that religious freedom is not suppressed in Germany!

CHAPTER IX

THE TOTALITY OF EDUCATION

1. *Training for Womanhood*

The whole people is called up for service.

ALFRED BÄUMLER.

We see in womanhood the eternal mother of our people and the consort of man in his life's work and struggle.

FRAU SCHOLTZ-KLINK (*Reichsführerin*).

It is a thing of wonder in nature and providence that no struggle of the sexes is possible, so long as each sex fulfills those tasks nature has established for it to do.

ADOLF HITLER (1934).

IT has seemed natural to postpone until this point any definite mention of the place of women in the scheme of education, because it is in the nature of the present National Socialist state that female education, at least beyond the elementary schools, should follow a philosophy peculiar to itself. While in many cases the various forms and administration of education for girls correspond closely to the system for boys, the purposes are different, for they arise from a philosophy that sees and sets different tasks for the sexes in the folk-state. Woman is not conceived as the counterpart of man, made in his image to perform similar tasks; she may be the companion of man, but hardly his occupational or professional equal. Her service to the state is based on capacities peculiar to womanhood: child-bearing and the maintenance of happy family life. Married or unmarried, the German girl is destined only for professions and trades which are adapted to and require female participation, and in no case may she occupy a position to the exclusion of a man. The entire course of her education is guided by these principles.[1]

1. Gertrud Scholtz-Klink (*Reichsführerin*): *Verpflichtung und Aufgabe der Frau im Nationalsozialistischen Staat,* Berlin, 1937, *passim,* especially the first ten pages. Cf. her speech, Nürnberg, September 8, 1934: "An die deutsche Frau."

Dr. Auguste Reber-Gruber, an active government representative, takes her text from the official pronouncement of the Ministry of Education to the effect that: "Education in girls' schools is determined by the goal for which German women and mothers are destined," whether it be in the home, the community, or a profession. "Schools are to develop the resources of female capacities inherent in every girl."[2] In the same measure that the male is educated in accordance with the National Socialist concept of good character, the girl must be trained to possess qualities of courage, will, physical attainment, and readiness to serve. But since National Socialism and the advance of Germandom depend on large, healthy families, it must be the double duty of education to train for the will to have children, and for appropriate wisdom in their upbringing. Rather touchingly, Frau Gruber sees education as the instrument for teaching mothers to sing intimate (*innig*) German lullabies, and tell treasured German folk stories "in the still and silent hours." In a more mature way, as a means of motivation, the schools are commissioned with the task of delving into German literature for exemplary anecdotes in prose and poetry on the fine and heroic qualities of motherhood. An effort is made not to teach motherhood, but to have it "awake within the girl's soul" as a responsibility and as an "inborn feeling for the desire to reproduce," which "slumbers within every girl."[3]

All branches of knowledge pertaining to motherhood must be drawn upon, beginning with a sound appreciation of nature's inexorable laws acquired through the study of biology and healthy heredity (*Erbgesundheit*). In this manner the values of pure blood and racial integrity will influence the girl in the most decisive moment of her life to choose a "suitable mate of German blood." In this connection, health care (*Gesundheitspflege*) and especially the proper raising of children are all-important in view of "the great loss of life in babyhood," and the "appalling number of unintelligent and careless" mothers.[4]

A prefix attached to the word *Wirtschaft*, "economics," forms

2. *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1938), VI, 404.

3. Auguste Reber-Gruber, "Die Erziehung des Mädchens im Nationalsozialistischen Deutschland," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1938), VI, 430–432.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 433–434. Cf. Hitler, "An die deutsche Frau," September 8, 1934: "Every child brought into the world is a battle (*Schlacht*) a mother fights for the existence or nonexistence (*Nichtsein*) of her people."

the broad term *Hauswirtschaft* or "domestic science," which seems to be the core of the curriculum. Domestic science teaches the girl to do "much with little"; she acquires the arts of thrift and good management, and the skills necessary for beautifying the home. Aside from the usual things, the heading also covers such subjects as garden care, national food economics, food analysis, and the proper use of substitutes. Here again the learning process begins with experience, for "proper motherly instincts are best awakened by practical participation in making plants grow and in effecting reproduction in animals." By living with a family, preferably in the country, the girl learns at firsthand the problems a mother faces and how she best solves them.[5]

Reber-Gruber is not slow to defend professions for women, for all the qualities demanded of womanhood by National Socialism may be attained in a professional career for which a woman may be better suited than a man. "Even professional training carries with it no essential change in the complete picture of a girl's education, especially when such a training . . . concerns itself with healing, attendance upon the sick, education, or matters of control and management in the realms of domestic science, homemaking, landscaping, and interior decorating." In fact, it is woman's special gift to be able to appreciate and extend the values of beauty and delicacy. It is also a matter of principle that National Socialism will never stand in the way of a woman, "even in the so-called masculine professions," if she has a special talent for a particular task.[6]

The general and official attitude toward women in National Socialism is interpreted by Wilhelm Frick. The Minister of the Interior emphasizes the value of family life, of the love of the mother for her child and proper home training from birth to maturity.[7] Deploring the conditions of family life in the years previous to 1933, when there was a general aversion to having children, "because of the expense or other material considerations," Frick emphasizes the will for large families in National Socialist ideology, and the "new" and "joyful" relationship to

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 435–436. 6. *Ibid.*, p. 431.

7. Wilhelm Frick, *Die deutsche Frau im Nationalsozialistischen Staat* (Beyer, Langensalza, 1934), p. 7. This is also Heft 1400 of Friedrich Mann's *Pädagogisches Magazin.*

prevail among members of the family.[8] In a forceful tone he warns German women that a complete revision has taken place under National Socialism, by which the attitude and training of the girl are destined to reconstruct German family and community life in accordance with German ideas. As an aid to this, the government stands ready to make materially possible an increase in the number of children in healthy families and an easing of the burden of the housewife.[9] Frick reminds the German girl that if she allows herself to be educated for German motherhood "in the National Socialist way," she will best succeed in winning the attention and respect of the German man "who is meant for her."[10]

The girls' sections of the various government organizations for extracurricular education have already been mentioned in a footnote to their counterparts in the boys' system.[11] The same philosophy of devotion and service to the cause of National Socialism holds for the *Bund deutscher Mädel* (BdM),[12] or League of German Girls, as it does for the boys of the Hitlerjugend. This investigation will presuppose the similarities, and concentrate on the differences of these two organizations as they occur in official concepts and prescribed purposes.

According to Trude Bürkner,[13] who is a "governmental adviser" on the subject, the BdM arose out of the desire of girls to "emulate their brothers" and "enjoy the benefits" of the Hitlerjugend. The Bund was organized in 1930 under its present title, but its numbers were pathetically small until 1933. Today the organization claims the largest number of members of any girls' group in the world (around three million), gathered as Bürkner puts it "voluntarily into a strong and powerful community." The BdM has again shown that "an entire nation has found the way from 'I' to 'we.' "[14]

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–10.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 13.
10. *Ibid.*
11. See p. 157, n. 11.
12. "League of German Girls," often abbreviated BdM which term we shall use here. The BdM is a branch of the Hitlerjugend.
13. Trude Bürkner, *Der Bund deutscher Mädel in der Hitlerjugend,* Berlin, 1937. Bürkner is *Reichsreferentin* in the *Reichsjugendführung.*
14. *Ibid.,* pp. 7–9. Interestingly enough, Bürkner observes that the law of December, 1936, compelling all youth to belong to the Hitlerjugend, did not originate from governmental desire to regiment youth but from *youth's desire to be regimented.* See p. 9. She is not very plausible, however, when she says that this law was the reward for the fine work and accomplishments of the

To Bürkner the BdM has become an "educational league" whose purpose is to give preparation for life "by living in life's pattern" ("*Vorbild sein*" and "*vorleben*"). She warns, in a key already familiar to the reader, that education in the BdM is not based on the "invisibly raised finger of pedagogy," which commands life and living in accordance with its own laws, but on the "inherent good in young people."[15] Fundamentally, it aims to develop women who will be able to participate in the political and cultural efforts of the day in a responsible and intelligent manner. "Political education" is not meant to train parliament speakers or intellectual "blue-stockings."[16]

Bürkner denies that a girl's education is based on the "four K's" (*Küche, Kleider, Kinder, Kirche*, i.e., kitchen, clothes, children, church). It hinges rather on the desire to prepare the girl for all phases of her future life, so that she will gain self-confidence in the realization that she is able and ready to perform the work for which she is fitted.[17] "Helping the farmer's wife" is an experience of farther-reaching significance than that merely of the "four K's." Participation in great public drives under national welfare schemes carries with it valuable lessons in social attitude and behavior.[18] Moreover, the "four K's" hardly suggest the lasting values of camp life and first-hand communion with nature.

On the matter of women's professions Bürkner agrees with Reber-Gruber, but issues the carefully worded proviso, "life and economic stringency do not guarantee satisfaction and suitable reward" in the profession which a girl chooses for herself.[19]

Socially, the girl in the BdM is on an equal plane with the boy in the Hitlerjugend, so that both boy and girl enjoy the

Hitlerjugend, since on the previous pages she speaks about the necessity of governmental support, and how National Socialist support was given, "without which development would have been impossible" (p. 8 especially).

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13. 16. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

18. Cf. Berta Finck, "Die Erziehungsarbeit der Nationalsozialistischen Volkswohlfahrt an der deutschen Frau," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1938), VI, 450. Finck establishes the premise that solicitude for national welfare is a "living concept in National Socialist education," since it is a practical example of service to the community. She terms this branch of education "social pedagogics" in its practical application.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23. Bürkner quotes Rust as "guaranteeing . . . equality of educational opportunity for properly equipped girls . . . in their necessary training for the professions."

same rights and privileges under the law. They are bound together in the national rhythm of life and work, and belong body and soul to their people. "This youth stands together in an inevitable and splendid comradeship!" Bürkner apostrophizes.[20]

The origins and development of the Women's Labor Service (*Frauenarbeitsdienst*) were as varied as the labor service for men. Previous to the National Socialist revolution, girls had gathered in the men's labor camps to supplement and very often imitate men's work, but these places gradually turned out to be havens for unemployed women. Realizing the potential value of labor camps for instructing young people in the tenets of National Socialism, and mindful of the "high moral significance" of community spirit and comradeship in labor, the government standardized them and made their tasks and purposes uniform. The spring of 1936 saw the incorporation of the Women's Labor Service as a government-controlled venture, although enrollment was at that time voluntary.[21]

Chief among the functions of the Frauenarbeitsdienst is the task of "easing the burden of overworked mothers in poorer families" by assisting at home, on the land, or sometimes in industry, by substituting for an expectant mother. The girls live in their own camps in a routine quite similar to that of the men's camps, but of course in keeping with womanly character. While the man occupies himself with the soil, the woman concentrates on the household. The broad purpose of the Frauenarbeitsdienst, according to Kretzschmann, is to bring girls closer to the domestic and rural professions, direct them into fields of work peculiar to women, and establish a feeling of respect for the values of such work. The indirect goal is, of course, to make clear the advantages of farm life and its relation to urban life. Six months of this type of training prepare the girl for participation in the economic and political life of the nation.[22] Here again the values of motherhood are stressed, Kretzschmann

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24. A glimpse into the inside of a girls' camp plus a general statement of its functions and ideals by a number of officials of the BdM may be found in *Völkischer Beobachter*, Munich, July 14, 1938, which describes the opening ceremonies of the new *Hochland-Mädellager*.

21. Fritz Edel, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–28.

22. H. Kretzschmann and Fritz Edel, "Frauenarbeitsdienst," in *Der Weg zum Arbeitsdienst* (Berlin, 1934), p. 41. Here the authors give a list of specific farm occupations for women.

bringing out the additional point that a mother educated for and through National Socialism is better able to impart its principles to her children than one brought up in a different school. In other words, the mother is trained for the educational guardianship of future generations.[23]

Compulsory labor service for women is defended by Will Decker who, as he chooses to phrase it, voices the attitude of German women in the questioning protest: Why a service of honor to the German people limited only to young men? Decker seeks to show that the desire for compulsory membership is a result, and this rephrases Trude Bürkner, of the pressure for "equal rights for women—originating from the women themselves."[24]

Dr. Wolfgang Scheibe puts the finishing touches on the need for a compulsory Women's Work Service, in saying it "corresponds with the National Socialist idea on labor." The woman must also enjoy the "values of a political education, and preserve her intimate connection with people and state." "In her life, too, work plays a decisive part."[25] The female reader will no doubt concede a certain truth to Scheibe's observation.

Scheibe is not too delicate in his handling of the problem of education in the Frauenarbeitsdienst for he puts the locale of instruction and practice in the home, the garden, the field, or the stable. The value of this training arises out of the happy fact that a girl is transferred from her usual milieu to a camp community, where she learns the meaning of immediate obedience, coöperation, and service. Scheibe does not tell us how the milkmaid is rescued from her milieu. He combats the charge that women's work service tends toward "masculinity, uniformity, unbecoming hardness or awkwardness" with the welcome and tempting assurance that it produces "healthy, capable, natural, and proud girls" who are conscious of their responsibility toward their people.[26]

The slogan of the Arbeitsdienst, "labor service is a service of honor to the German nation," has been embellished by Hanna

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

24. Will Decker, *Der deutsche Arbeitsdienst*, p. 26. "Der Arbeitsdienst für die weibliche Jugend."

25. Wolfgang Scheibe, *Aufgabe und Aufbau des Reichsarbeitsdienstes*, p. 44. The Frauenarbeitsdienst is compulsory.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Wohnsdorf-Röbke, who inserts a subordinate clause to form a corresponding slogan for the Frauenarbeitsdienst: "Work service for girls is a service of honor to the overburdened women and mothers of the German nation." (The phrasing is slightly more convincing in German.) Moreover, Frau Röbke does not shrink from Scheibe's interpretation, for she would compensate the involuntary neglect of household duties on the part of overworked mothers by sending the girls of the work service into the fields and stables.[27]

Of all authors studied, none better expresses the advantages of the Frauenarbeitsdienst than Wohnsdorf-Röbke. According to her, young people discover their powers *of their own accord*, and develop these powers "with a view toward learning the proper way to enjoy life and its beauties without the help of external devices." These private and personal powers are "wellsprings of strength" that ever refresh in the course of life's struggle, because they have been discovered as inherent and lasting qualities in every human being that no one can remove.[28]

Thus in the Women's Work Service there are three factors potentially effective in training the girl to find her place in a National Socialist society: work itself, political-intellectual training, and community life. In six months' time she is expected to have learned that all work is valuable, the important thing being how to perform it for the social good. Through instruction in history, civics, and politics she acquires a knowledge of the principles and aims of National Socialism, and an

27. Hanna Wohnsdorf-Röbke, "Die Erziehung im Arbeitsdienst für die weibliche Jugend," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1937), IV–V, 285–286. Frau Röbke defends this attitude by quoting what has been mentioned before: "Education in the National Socialist sense for folk-community and the proper conception of, and respect for, labor are the fundamental rules of work service for women."

28. *Ibid.*, p. 288. For further information on particularized phases of the Frauenarbeitsdienst see *Internationale Zeitschrift*, VI, 1938, which is an edition devoted almost entirely to the education of women. Special articles besides those mentioned already are to be found on "Hauswirtschaftliche Erziehung durch das deutsche Frauenwerk" (Else Vorwerck); "Der deutsche Mütterdienst im Rahmen des weiblichen Bildungswesen" (Erna Röpke); and "Die Erziehung der Arbeiterin durch die deutsche Arbeitsfront" (Inge Rather); these three essays elaborate on domestic science, motherhood service, and education through the labor front respectively. A Woman's Committee for Physical Education (*Frauenauschuss für die Leibesübungen*) has been created by Von Tschammer und Osten, the aim of which is to create and guide a program of physical education proper for women. *See* Dambach, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–93.

appreciation of how the security of the nation may best be guaranteed. With experience and instruction in community life comes the realization of the great part played by womanhood and the individual mother in national reconstruction. Lastly, the girl is helped to find her place in the life of the nation as a whole.

The days of coeducation are almost past in German schools, for beyond the elementary school mixed schools are preserved only out of sheer necessity. The path of a girl's schooling deviates from the boy's at about her tenth year. From then on she follows an essentially different course of education and training, organized on an entirely separate basis. A panoramic view of the instructional program for girls would show a preponderance of subjects suited to female occupations and capitalizing on feminine domestic and artistic qualities. There is less emphasis on languages. The standard curriculum is organized of course on the central principles of National Socialism, with domestic science as the point of integration.

Reber-Gruber lays great stress on the teaching of the mother tongue and instruction exclusively in pure German, for "it is by the proper use of the native language that a mother binds her child heart and soul" to his people and presents him with the "first unconscious feeling" of being a German. Frau Gruber seems not only to be acquainted with Rust's ideas on the use of pure German and the value of instruction in the mother tongue, but also borrows from Usadel's psychological theories on the subconscious mind as an educative factor. The spiritual (*seelisch*, this time) powers which lie hidden in every girl are pressed to become receptive to a mental development centered in respect for beauty and achievement as displayed in folk literature. The great writers "of the Germans" (note the quotation) must be studied both as living persons and as "harbingers of a life and existence peculiar to us," ever with a view to "increasing noble pride in the riches which our people have in its literature."[29]

It is rather novel to come upon a statement that "love is

29. Auguste Reber-Gruber, "Bildung von Seele, Geist und Leib," in *"Die Erziehung des Mädchens im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland,"* p. 436. Cf. Scheffer, *op. cit.*, in which he philosophizes on the duties of motherhood.

mightier than the sword," at a time when Germany is accused of raising the values of might to the ultimate. But any optimism this might evoke is short-lived, for Frau Gruber limits these comparative values to the life and destiny of the folk and fatherland. "The sword is not enough for the defense of our country; . . . stronger than any weapon or fortifications is the passionate love for Volk and Führer which burns in the hearts of *all* members of our Volk."

The relative parsimony of language instruction in girls' schools does not necessarily mean that the level of instruction has been lowered, but rather that new "womanly" subjects have forced a "contraction" of language study to permit development of a program centered around Volkstum and Kultur.[30] The purpose of foreign-language study in the German school is "to understand and appreciate the spirit and culture of foreign peoples." But the more important aim is, "through comparative study, to come to a clearer understanding of the values of [our] Kultur and Volk." As for ancient languages, "they open up the ancient world, which represents, especially in the study of Greek [here Reber-Gruber pledges allegiance to Bäumler], the blossoming of the Nordic spirit." "Greek culture," she continues, "is related to our own; it is a culture whose heritage we wish to preserve."[31]

Although we have spent a considerable time with Frau Reber-Gruber, it must be added that there is no finer exposition of woman's place and destiny in the Third Reich than that given in her conclusion. Women who train for a professional career will always be welcome in social life because they represent a significant factor in cultural and economic development. There is no conflict between sexes, for woman has as much right to work as man, and her accomplishment is deserving of the same respect. "We demand . . . similar respect" for all women, "provided they serve their people, whether in the field of intellectual endeavor, handicraft, or motherhood." Men's work and women's work should "form a synthesis" which is the "source of all creative life and living," for the forms and accomplishments of man are often born out of the "lyric feminine essence"

30. For a full discussion of subjects in the girls' curriculum see "Die Fächer des Frauenschaffens," *Erziehung und Unterricht,* pp. 251–265.

31. Gruber, *op. cit.,* p. 439.

(*"lyrischweiblichen,"* an expression taken from Rosenberg and incidentally representing one of his theories); otherwise they (the forms) never would have come to life. The influence of woman on man is a recognized historical principle. Her entrance into any field of endeavor as the consort of man influences his entire work and production; it "fructifies" it, causing it to reflect the more delicate feminine influence "which acts as a blessing and gives charm to man's creation." It is woman's "keener instinct and closer proximity to nature" that can give the man the "good, clear word which shows him the way he otherwise never would have found," or "arouses his enthusiasm for the resolution and effective application of ideas which otherwise would have remained in the realm of abstract, untried theory." Even the history of the rise of National Socialism is proof of this, observes Frau Gruber.

Lastly, it is the woman as mother who, in the long run, has the greatest influence upon her child's development. Upon her depends the formation of proper attitudes and the molding of the receptive qualities of the child's soul. The girl must be educated to a womanhood that spreads longing for the immortality of, and pride in, the folk and all its potentialities; wherever she walks she must spread "beauty, warmth, and harmony, for she is a representative of simplicity and truth in things of beauty."[32]

2. *Adult Education*

Education is independent of the question of age.

ADOLF HITLER (1937).

We do not let the German man ever get out of our hands. . . . We help him and lead him so long as his productive qualities can be in any way improved or developed.

DR. LEY (February 14, 1937).

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 443–444. For further exposition of the place of women see Paula Siber, "Die Stellung der Frau" in *Der Nationalsozialistische Staat,* pp. 127–129. Siber agrees wholeheartedly with Hitler when she says that "being a woman means being a mother" (p. 127). In contrast, there is an article in *News in Brief* (1936), 195, which defends women's professions. *Internationale Zeitschrift* (VI, 1938), mentioned previously, is an edition devoted to the education of women. Cf. Hans Joachim von Schumann: *Die Nationalsozialistische Erziehung im Rahmen amtlicher Bestimmungen,* pp. 39–41. This is a discussion on the education of girls that holds fast to the letter of the law. An excellent critical bibliography on the education of girls is to be found in *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1938), VI, 469–471.

EDUCATION for adults, a necessary corollary to youth training in National Socialist ideology, is based on the awareness that individual responsibility toward the state never ceases. As elsewhere in the world, adult education is still very much in the experimental stage, a great deal of confusion having arisen in such matters as age differentials, the type of instruction to be offered—whether "pure learning," trades, or "national education," and proper teaching methods, to say nothing of the purpose of adult education and instruction as a whole. Obviously, however, under National Socialism the idea of "education for the nation" takes first place here as elsewhere, representing "that living movement which brings the realization of the unity of the people and the strengthening of the community idea." There is also not the slightest doubt that adult education is of paramount importance in the political and social make-up of National Socialism.

A ranking of "national education" above "pure learning" is advocated by Alfred Bäumler, that peer of educational philosophers whose theories seem always to represent the last and most favored word. Bäumler attacks the tenets of "general education" (*Allgemeinbildung*)—that is, "intellectualism"—because they presuppose that humankind is divided into two realms: the realm of the "material" and the realm of the "spiritual-intellectual," in other words a "below" and an "above." The realm of the above sheds its light upon those unfortunate enough to remain below, permitting them to share the blessings that intellectual endeavor holds in its sphere. Those in the realm of the above sacrifice body and soul to the intellect; they see nothing earthly. But in the Weltanschauung of National Socialism there is no line of demarcation, no above and below. The strength of instruction and shaping force (*Gestaltungskraft*) is lodged in the soil of the land.

Transferring his theories to adult education, Bäumler advocates training "which shall supplement the daily routine of the worker." For example, the machine worker should be taught to enjoy concerts and appreciate the fine arts, while the musician or the artist should be presented with the problems of the mechanical worker, however "disturbing or bitter" the process may be. Not that the teacher will expect his pupil to penetrate deeply into the technicalities of the strange and different realm

to which he is introduced. The teacher's only object is to acquaint his "racial brother" (it must be noted here that Bäumler's word for teacher is *Volksbildner*, "folk educator," and his pupil is a *Volksgenosse*, "folk comrade," or "conational") with his fellow countryman's struggle for existence, and the problems he has to solve to earn his daily bread. This is learning through the medium of experience, which in value transcends intellectualism, and offers a really worthwhile task to those responsible for education after the compulsory age. Adult education, concludes Bäumler, must not be based on intellectual endeavor, but on certain "political convictions" which bring each and every member of the race to realize his claim to participate in the unification of his country on an equal footing with his race-brother, the professor. He will use his special abilities to the utmost, and supplement his deficiencies by active and sympathetic inquiry into the wholly different life work of his neighbor.[33]

More practically, yet wholly in line with Bäumler, Dr. Dähnhardt of the ministerial staff speaks of a "voluntary, revolutionary" adult education in Germany today, that does not aim to impart "random bits of knowledge," but binds itself to everyday living. In a subtle way, Dähnhardt informs us that National Socialist schools for adults purvey a type of education which does not "spread knowledge" but "molds" its learners into proper folk-membership. In contrast to the disparate, indeterminate education of the republic, this particular branch has form (Gestalt), wholeness, centered in the "living reality of people and Führer," and therefore becomes fruitful and satisfying in its results.[34]

A glance at the subjects offered reveals topics such as "homeland," "healthy Volk," "people at work," "our Volk-state," "the peace efforts of our Leader," "a people gains enjoyment"; while sight-seeing trips, poets' readings, instructional walks, and practical work are used as auxiliary methods of learning. Both instruction and choice of subject matter are controlled by

33. Alfred Bäumler, "Deutsche Volksbildung heute," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1938), III, 206–207.

34. H. Dähnhardt, "Erwachsenenbildung und Volksbildung in Deutschland," *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1938), III, 168. The author does not claim to be able to rationalize Dähnhardt's conclusion.

a special department of the famous *Kraft durch Freude* ("Strength through Enjoyment") organization for the use of leisure time.

In contrast to public-school education, much of the responsibility for "night schools" depends upon municipal interest and support. Strong community interest results in an active school system, invaluable in helping to solve the economic and social problems peculiar to the community, as well as for teaching responsibility and service to the Reich.[35]

The continuous process of education is thus constantly allied with an established philosophy of education. No matter what realm of educational endeavor is involved, this national philosophy molds the accompanying procedure. Even in the comparatively remote field of the training workshop in a factory, the instructional methods and aims conform absolutely to the national standard. Too much specialization is to be avoided if it interferes with general knowledges and skills. In the National Socialist view specialization in modern work requires a versatile, skilled worker who is in a position, thanks to a thorough grasp of the fundamentals of his profession, to progress in the sphere of more differentiated work. Specialized training is deprecated because it "tends to jeopardize the versatility of apprentices."[36] The workshop teacher himself must have more than the mere ability to teach requirements; even here the phi-

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 166. Dähnhardt also mentions the *Volksbüchereien* as extremely instrumental in effecting proper results in adult education. These book-distributing agencies have also been set up with the additional purpose of providing literature for "an enjoyable evening" (p. 166).

36. Karl Arnhold, "Die Lehrwerkstatt als Erziehungsstätte," *Freude und Arbeit* (Berlin, 1938), VIII, 116–117. Arnhold states: "We must be fully aware of the fact that these versatile, efficient, and reliable workmen rightly demanded by the National Socialist Movement cannot be trained in an apprentice workshop exclusively directed to purposes of specialization. The task set to the apprentice workshop by the National Socialist Movement in accordance with its conception of life cannot be too clearly recognized." The dangers of specialization in his terms are twofold: "First of all, they make the apprentice capable of fulfilling only the particular purpose of one definite establishment, i.e., hampering him for his whole later life. Secondly, in our opinion, the greatest danger of a one-sided specialization lies in the fact that from the standpoint of versatility of the worker, it hinders very considerably the economic defensive capacity of the whole nation." Again, a little later, versatility is advocated as against specialization: "Apprentice workshops and community training workshops are the forms of industrial education of the future." "We disapprove of a one-sided specialization of industrial education."

losophy of teacher-training holds good, for the teacher must be "fresh and vigorous" and devote himself entirely to the younger generation.[37]

Mention could be made of further types of institution and training which reflect educational philosophy in a similar way, whether the girls' trade school, or the technical school for commerce, industry, agriculture, engineering, or the fine arts. They would all be found to function under standardized directing theory, fraught with ideas derived from the "inspiration of living structures," involving activity and production for the common good, responsibility to the nation and national development imperative, and personality types trained in general skills. The whole procedure is drawn from the vital exigencies of present national life, and founded on the implications of a national ethnic substance.

Thus it may be seen that Germans are looking beyond the traditional school for education. In the National Socialist view, schools with an essentially theoretical approach can appeal only to those who respond to that method. In the belief that education should not be limited to schooling, National Socialist educational planning sees to it that the "practical-minded" youngster is privileged to get his training systematically and with reasonable thoroughness through "experience on location" and under the direction of sympathetic, adaptable instructors especially trained for the work. There is no stigma attached to the youth who pursues his training outside the traditional school, for as Bäumler warns, the "intellectuals" are no longer the "upper stratum." Indeed, there can be (officially, at least) no strata as such in the ideas and ideals of an education that demands first and foremost a personal and collective devotion to the common weal.

37. "Thus it would be wrong to train workshop educators and masters whose sole task it is to teach the young men the bare requirements of the work and to keep an eye on them. In our opinion, the starting-off point of the education in training workshops is this: the educators and masters are in no way mere executive officials for the special 'measures' of works-schooling, but they must be men who are conscious of the fact that by their caring for the workmen to come, they are fulfilling a task of preëminent political importance for the nation." Arnhold, *ibid.*

CHAPTER X

IDEOLOGICAL OVERTONES

For the most part foreigners are familiar only with the antithesis of German idealism and German militarism.

FRIEDRICH MEINECKE (1914).

Our scorn must be reserved for the intellectuals who have persuaded the German people to this folly (democracy).

MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK (1921).

Only he who has *will power* can come to grips with knowledge; only he who has *purpose* can understand beginnings.

BERNHARD RUST (1938).

ON the surface of it, there is nothing very profound about official National Socialist educational policy. This the reader has in all probability already concluded. Actually, its principles are so straightforward and simple that they could be listed on one page of foolscap. But their sources and implications are not so easy to grasp as many would have us think. The Pantheon of National Socialism has been created out of certain very real issues and is guarded by special psychological interpretations which cannot be passed off as mere fads. What is so often confusing or intangible in the present ideology is the background and content of its rationalizations. One can never be altogether sure of their significance. Perhaps this is because to the "liberal" thinker feeling is not so eloquent as fact.

First in any self-exposition of National Socialist ideology comes a reinterpretation of twentieth-century trends and attitudes, and with it a "new realization" of German spiritual life. The aristocratic romanticism of a Stefan George, singing of an élite of German intellectuals; the charismatic preferences of a Hans Blüher, abandoning the anthropological unity of mankind; the political pedagogy of a Walther Dilthey as it propounds a psychological analysis of types—together with other "new" and "indigenous" forms of culture, all begin to merit the

consideration that National Socialism feels they deserve. Hence the demand for a revaluation of intellectualism; hence the new concepts of rationalism, and the programmatic emphases on nationally characteristic values, formerly "neglected." German culture is not by nature given to rationalization and intellectualism—here is the leitmotif of National Socialist thought. And with it is always the assumption that National Socialism is "the" genuinely German mode of civilization.

It may well be said in this regard that the intellect "as the educational center" (Landé) is being replaced by a "romanticist" belief. Such attitudes, rejecting finite judgment, are said to draw ultimately more upon the early romanticism of the nineteenth century, even upon certain medieval ideas of mutual obligation, loyalty, and fealty, than upon the abstract *ratio*, let us say, of a Hegel. Again, the leadership principle may be considered a reincarnation of what has always been consciously or unconsciously a fundamental trait of German character, traceable to primitive times and the original tribal order. Hitler's deferential love of Wagner, for example, seems to arise from the Führer's quest for a particular brand of spiritual nourishment.

A philosophic defense of the German attitude toward intellectual education is to be found in the cold, clear language of Theodor Wilhelm, to whom the English-speaking world may turn from the disturbing subjectiveness of modern argument. Contemporary German education does not believe with Descartes: *Cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am).[1] "It has been our experience in Germany," says Wilhelm, "that to exclude from man everything that is not reason, is to rob the soul of great impulses."[2] Man plays his part not through observation but through *action.* "*You do not grasp after truth with cold-blooded reason, but with the passion of a glowing heart, in which reason ranges side by side with will, courage, imagination, and enthusiasm.*"[3] Wilhelm's argument, modeled after his patron, Bäumler, runs somewhat as follows: Man is essentially an active being; action is as much a spiritual experience as is

1. Wilhelm, *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1939), VIII, 86.
2. *Ibid.* Cf. Jakob Burckhardt: "Passion is the mother of great things—that is the real passion, which desires something new and not merely the tumbling down of the old." *Internationale Zeitschrift* (1935), I, 38.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

intellectual perception; intellectualism says "once man has perceived and understood what is good and right, he will, by himself, act accordingly"; but the will to do what is right does not automatically follow upon perception of what is right; therefore National Socialism, believing in emotional power as equal and conjoined with will and reason, must oppose pure intellectualism.[4]

At the same time, National Socialist education recognizes the possibility of developing intellectual capacities without "condemning the pupil to indecision and [a study of] antiquity." The basis of its procedure is a return to Pestalozzi's principle, an emphasis on the values which result from "the spark that leaps from soul to soul," although it continues to use instruction as the medium of the schools.[5] Wilhelm underscores sharply the difference felt by present theorists in the relative position of education and politics, and warns against giving to the educating process tasks it cannot fulfill: for example, "the avoidance of war." Finally, witness this conclusion as typical of the new thought: "Education has to begin with what is at hand, and it is a mistake to place at the very beginning of the educational process eternal transcendental ideas which at best can be the ultimate and mature result of a whole human life."[6]

More fundamental, though hardly more tangible explanations may be found in the authority of Karl Sturm: "Intellectual education . . . is the pathway through man's conscience [*Bewusstsein*], intellect [*Verstand*]; and thought [*Denken*]." But since the time of the Enlightenment, "the pathway has led only through thought." Qualities of conscience and spirit (*Geist*) as necessary to the educational process have been obscured in educational theory. Conscience, spirit, and understanding have been identified with intellect; a training of the intellect was assumed to be an automatic training of each element in itself. But when spirit becomes one with a cool and calculating intellect, i.e., with abstract reason, intellectualism is bound to be overemphasized. The spirit will find itself "at war with the proper development of the soul" ("*Gemüt*," "disposition," probably here man's "natural tendencies" as opposed to Geist meaning "genuine" or "intellectual powers"). In other

4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

words, Sturm implies that when man concentrates on intellectual matters in a merely perceptive or retrospective way, without using subjective analysis, he loses the rich, powerful, and fruitful qualities that spring from the well of irrationality. The heart with its emotion and warmth must temper the barrenness of intellect; it must fertilize every field and layer of human life.[7]

The philosophic substrata of Wilhelm's cursory analysis of Descartes, or Sturm's constant criticism of Herbart, cannot be matters for dispute here. The point at hand lies rather closer to the more general issues of subjectivism and antirationalism, since the whole structure of National Socialist ideology is based negatively on an invalidation of rational argument.

Now there is no accepted premise in this investigation which exalts reason to the position of being the only instrument for the discovery of basic truths, for the elements of belief and faith have always to be taken into account. As Kolnai says, "faith may doubt the capacity of reason to discover basic truth";[8] yet reason becomes a safety valve for its own aberrations and eccentricities. On the other hand, reason may well become a critical apparatus for the cleansing of faith, when it tends to grow rankly or arbitrarily. Faith may often lead the believer into falsehood because it tends to console him; or it may tend to solve present difficulties in the light of cherished tradition. But faith and reason together contribute to a knowledge that aims at truth.

The tenets and aspirations of National Socialism are based more on faith than on reason; reason deceives the mind into believing falsehood, in the general habit of intellectuals. It is merely a convenient method of confirming the opinion of scientific authority, or of gratifying some emotional need linked up with impulses of thought. Hence the call for mythology and a quasi-inversion of Whitehead's theory of "faith in reason . . . to avoid arbitrary mystery" that characterizes present-day German thought.

Yet it is obvious that rational argument is being employed by National Socialists to defend their cause. Reason is used to

7. Sturm, *op. cit.*, p. 121. The author has tried to preserve Sturm's metaphoric language.

8. Kolnai, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

account for the lack of reason, present methods of offensive and defensive argument betraying a rational line of attack. The works of Wilhelm and his colleague Schwarz are excellent models of straightforward (if not always convincing) argument, such as they might have composed in their earlier days as students in liberal American universities. It may of course be admitted that the method has a certain place, since an irrational explanation of irrationality would result in no explanation at all, at least to minds trained along rational lines. But the implications are deeper than this.

National Socialism claims that the intellectual approach to its metaphysics is a lame one, that the movement can be understood only by those who are a part of it. What does this mean? It means that the only method by which the world can become reconciled to the new Germany is through abandoning, or even denying, pure reason. Carried further, it might very possibly mean that the real mission of German argument, if it wishes to be consistent, is to destroy the esteem in which objectivity and the individual intellect are held in a liberal civilization. One cannot help being aware that the National Socialist authors who have put their case before us in the language and method of liberalism themselves profess no real confidence in such a method. National Socialism must perceive the quandary of liberalism when faced with Freyer's theory that "it is not thinkers who do the ruling, but rulers who do the thinking"; or Hommes's assertion that "reason is the privilege of those who wield the discipline."

Perhaps further light is to be obtained from the psychological approach of Georg Usadel. All reactions have a dual source, he says, "Not only the body reacts, but also the soul." In order to determine the potentialities of education, the relation of these two elements must be clarified. "The existence of the soul is indeed bound to the substance of the body; there is no substance of the soul," no evidence of its independent life. It follows from this that all emotional and intellectual life finds embodiment in the entirety of corporeal life. Existing in the life of the soul (which cannot thrive without the body) are the elements of consciousness and subconsciousness. It is difficult, observes Usadel in effect, to draw a line between the two; one is not always sure whether it is the conscious or subconscious mind that prompts

an action. What is sure, however, is that the younger a person is the more he seems prone to act in accordance with subconscious urges.[9] Usadel would say rhetorically: How often we see children act apparently without having thought out the action beforehand![10]

Will is, in general, a sense which has been raised from the subconscious into the conscious. The elements of thought, emotion,[11] and will are "rooms in the same building," namely, parts of the entirety of soul and body. Usadel makes a great deal of the element of will, since through will we are able either to suppress the strongest emotional drives or to increase them. The miraculous reaches to which courage, clear-cold thought-processes, and artistic achievement can attain are testimony of how very strongly the will can influence body, soul, and spirit. However, there is a line beyond which the will ceases to influence the body. It has little or no effect upon the functioning of the inner organs. They perform their work day and night without command. Observing this, we become aware that it is not "material things" (objective knowledge, presumably), but rather the generative action of the "physical and spiritual" that should determine development, and consequently our approach to the problem of education. The influence of will on life is tremendous, but it has its limits, for without life there can be no will. *Life determines will;* will cannot determine the inevitable course of life. (Usadel decries democracy as a course of life haphazardly determined by individual wills.) It follows, therefore, that life is the starting point and molder of the will.[12]

The web of Usadel's reasoning is spun in another pattern which complements the above: the complicated life of the soul,

9. Alfred Bäumler, *Männerbund und Wissenschaft;* see p. 28 on instinct in youth.

10. Usadel, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8. Georg Stieler, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13, complements this view by calling attention to the fact that the child learns not only according to prescription but also amid "outbursts of temperament" wherein he experiences things for himself. Moreover, he turns to his elders for approval and shows clear signs of being socially minded in wanting others to share the values of his own discoveries.

11. Usadel, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Here Usadel is not very careful in the use of words. *Fühlen* is construed ambiguously to mean one of the emotions and emotion itself. Moreover, the reader is left to deduce for himself the inferential difference between *Wille* and *Wollen*.

12. *Ibid.*

the intricacies of external and internal, physical and spiritual, behavior can be reduced to a few clear-cut formulas, readily comprehensible to every member of the race. These formulas are the quintessence of the philosophy of National Socialism; they mold its followers (Usadel quotes the Ten Commandments as proof of how a few leading principles of the "diversity of life" can be epitomized); they are so condensed that even the "simplest soldier" can understand them. This is important because every religion that does not want to lose itself in mere reverie has to set up clear dogma for the simple and for the strong alike; such simplified principles become a guide in the exigencies of life, and it is the duty of education to transmit them. But Usadel, it must be noted, sidesteps the problem of where faith begins and knowledge ends. The adaptation of a community to a frame of faith and knowledge is a gigantic process, he admits, but for the method the reader is conveniently referred to "Hitler's book."[13]

What clearer indication of the fact that knowledge appeals more to the emotions than to reason does one need than Usadel's conclusions? No better example can be found of the shelving of objectivity than the "appeal to instinct" theory of this well-known and representative educator. To him, as to his colleagues, scientific facts are less important than their relation to life. "There is a difference in the way the Chinese use the results of science and the way the Germans use them."[14] Science (as indeed all objectivity) must lead not to introverted contemplation, away from the world, but "to the fighting spirit and faith in the nation."

Yet Usadel's psychological analysis, even when the chaff is blown away, fails to clear up certain conflicts in the character concepts of National Socialism as a "youthful" movement. We hear of such qualities as "activism," "vitalism," "existentialism," and "heroic realism." They are all recognized as active (in contrast to passive) aspects of man's life and character.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

14. Cf. Philipp Lenard's ambitious 4-vol. work, *Deutsche Physik,* Munich, 1936, *Vorwort,* in which this famous physicist seeks to answer the claim that science is and remains universal. "Jewish physics is a deception [*Trugbild*]"; real science must commune with nature and must therefore be treated on natural foundations. The Germans are by nature attached to Germany, not so the Jews.

The problem is just how these active qualities can be cultivated in a system that subordinates animating life interests and "inner drives" to Volk demands and service.[15] It seems that man, in fusing his life with the needs of national and racial genius, will reach a point where high individual attainment must cease if it is not to conflict with community interests, and at this point he must suffer a sudden detachment from his own private life-interests. Thus, individual activism must ultimately become passivism; vitalism, repression; existentialism, impressionism; and realistic heroism, mystical sacrifice. Here, in addition, one must be very careful to mark the slender limits of desired character traits. Man must be unselfish, but not altruistic; there must be self-abandonment, but no self-effacement; self-surrender and renunciation, but no abstemiousness; perspicacity but no realized body of knowledge and sanctions (outside of Volk); purposeful existence, but no absolute freedom of purpose; dynamic change, but no counterweight to it; adaptation but no critical balance.

In view of these delicate but significant differentiations, this inquiry advances the proposition that activity and creativeness, to mention only two of the desired assets, are directly proportional to the degree of absolute freedom. Limited freedom means limited creativeness. Thus, while the education of the National Socialist involves the cultivation of will and activity as true manifestations of nature, and the character of this education is reputedly of the plastic (*bildnerisch*), creative, generative (*zeugerisch*) type, with grandeur and fruitfulness as criteria, the appeal is really not to these qualities at all, for in the measure that regulating or corrective criteria are denied, the very methods by which the denial comes involve regulation, uniformity, and constraint. Bäumler, too, may be cited as favoring force over harmony, although education is ordered to create the harmonious being; and disciplined unity over "complicated inwardness," although youth is supposed to be moved by its inner forces.[16] When Hitler advocates education for a new species of man, "lest our Volk succumb to the degenerative tendencies of the age," how can he be sure that National Socialism will not in

15. Kolnai, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
16. Alfred Bäumler, *Politik und Erziehung*, pp. 73–74.

its turn become a degenerative force, since it allows for progress and creativeness only within its own pattern?

This investigation has attempted to set forth dispassionately the educational philosophy of National Socialism by turning to its sources and authorities. Although apparent inconsistencies have been indicated, the object has not been to attack the system, any more than would be the case in an objective and comprehensive study of any educational system. It would be possible for a confirmed liberal to find flaws and contradictions in the education sponsored by a great democracy and "the schoolhouse of the world," where "equality of opportunity" is more of a theory than a fact. When National Socialism points to its benefits, it may certainly include the policy of equal consideration for the educational needs of all citizens. Nor need one hesitate to point out the careful planning for postschool life, in order to avoid social misfits and to eliminate the superabundance of certain types of employment—a program which in a democracy is as yet but a dream. This is not to plead the case of the ultimate product of National Socialism. Liberalism would pronounce it undesirable human stuff. But National Socialist education is not without its lesson for any educational system.

It has been shown that National Socialism has little regard for the objectivism, logic, and consistency of liberal argument. It becomes, therefore, not so much a thesis as an anti-thesis, a reaction to liberalism; and at the same time an attitude originating and conditioned from within. What matters is *mythos*, not *logos*, except where logos might be considered destiny controlled by instinct as opposed to coördinating reason. The movement prefers in its goal and process rather to adopt the tactics of irrational particularity and indissoluble totality. It cannot be understood in terms of "humanity" because it has divorced itself from universal morality and concentrated upon the German Volk as the ultimate of attainment and perfection. Its opportunism, so much a part of the process, is but a willingness to seize or sacrifice anything at any time which will contribute to the common good.

From one very significant point of view, present policy is but the fruition of a propelling thought at least a century old,

which has struggled, even with agony, to effect some sort of political and spiritual unity in the Germanies. Germany has been described before the advent of the Third Reich as a land essentially without design, seeking desperately to find a focal point of development. The very structure of the country and the character of its inhabitants have been conducive to internal disagreement. Moreover, the history of Germany shows that its moving forces have never flowed in one harmonious current, the various districts of the Reich resembling large and small ice floes which, when they collide, sometimes split asunder, sometimes freeze together. For lack of firm, all-embracing leadership, there has been a chaos of disunity.[17]

National Socialism has arisen as one answer to this condition; it has taken upon itself the direction of a strong plan for effecting national unity. But Western liberalism does not accept its theories as the answer to Germany's problem. It cannot accept the Third Reich because the implications and consequences of its program reach far beyond national boundaries. Racial egoism and hierarchy, the will to violence, and regimented education all lead to direct conflict with the very essence of liberalism. For the liberal they invalidate the entire movement. This investigation cannot debate these conflicts, no matter how aware the author is of their existence. But he has no wish to sidestep the implications of the National Socialist view for the rest of the world. National Socialists have said that their theory is not for exportation; it is privately owned. But do recent developments bear this out? Are there not indications that the present doctrine, however modified, is to be extended over most of Europe, if not further? What reception can National Socialism expect when it demands of intelligent people unconditional surrender and immediate acceptance, or else . . .? It is difficult indeed to suspend judgment when events belie preachments.

The antagonism of National Socialism to the outer forms of democracy cannot be compared in importance with its denial of the whole spirit of liberalism, at least in an ideological interpretation. Whether or not a people participates in government is, in the National Socialists' view, a matter of political expediency, and expediency has always been their guide. It is the con-

17. Eugen Diesel, *Germany and the Germans* (New York, 1931), pp. 8–9.

viction of certain National Socialists themselves that theirs is a transient philosophy. Both Krieck and Rust speak of the "infancy" of "a great movement," its "expedient elements," and its "present experimental forms." Even Hitler has hinted more than once that he is a transition to a "better" era for all mankind.

But this does not mean that we would find it better. Nor does it solve present troubles. There will have to be some amount of give on both sides. Democracy has learned much from the efficiency and coördination of totalitarian procedures, and has much still to learn from the social reforms of the Third Reich, in spite of their often indefensible concomitants. Can it also learn from totalitarian standardization, federalization, equalization, and yet preserve individual and local enterprise? On the other hand, will National Socialism finally understand that the world of thought is greater than that of a particular Volk, that even if it were not, even if a particular Volk felt its values supreme, other races could not accept these values because they would not understand them?

Nevertheless the Third Reich with its educational aspirations cannot be dismissed as a temporary folly. As Catlin says, it has renewed and reunited, however brutally, the strength and pride of a great people. Its achievements have been written in stone and steel. Even if Hitler and his entire entourage were killed, the problem of German unity, German nationality, German self-assertion would appear again and again, as a constant challenge to the world.

It is of course impossible to tell at this stage what education resulting from a policy of national-mindedness and resting on a political situation will contribute to civilization. Present hostilities will lead to some sort of answer. But no matter which side emerges victorious, the imprint of the loser will remain indelible. The battlefield will not solve once and for all existing ideological conflicts; nor will blind repudiation. However one may feel about this new ideology, whatever stand one takes toward it, those who really wish to understand it and deal with it effectively must go to its ideological backgrounds.

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APPENDIX

MINISTERIALRAT *DR. RUDOLF BENZE* GESAMTLEITER DES DEUTSCHEN ZENTRALINSTITUTS FÜR ERZIEHUNG UND UNTERRICHT

Herrn George F. Kneller, Hamden, Conn.

Berlin W 35, den 15. Dezember 1938.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kneller!

Besten Dank für Ihr Schreiben vom 30. November! Inzwischen wird Ihnen ja eine andere Anfrage schon beantwortet worden sein. Gern bin ich auch persönlich bereit, Ihnen bei Ihrer Arbeit weiterzuhelfen. Allerdings haben Sie sich eine Aufgabe gestellt, die eine ungeheure Arbeit erfordert und deren Ziel sehr hoch gesteckt ist. Ich möchte sogar annehmen, dass dieses Ziel zurzeit noch nicht erreicht werden kann. Ihre erste Frage enthält auch gleich drei Themen, von denen jedes allein für eine Dissertation ausreichen würde. Auch dann noch würde diese Arbeit sehr schwer zu bewältigen sein, zumal Vorarbeiten ausser denen, die Ihnen nach Ihrem Schreiben schon bekannt sind, noch kaum vorliegen. Wesentlich für die ganze Angelegenheit ist aber folgendes: Die nationalsozialistische Erziehung ist nicht wie die älteren Erziehungssysteme aus einer pädagogischen Theorie herausgewachsen, sondern aus der politischen Tat der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung, die ihrerseits vor allem aus den gesunden Lebensinstinkten des deutschen Volkes geboren wurde und erst in zweiter Linie von der wissenschaftlichen Wiederentdeckung der Lebensgesetze durch die Erb- und Rassenlehre unterbaut wurde. Eine Theorie der nationalsozialistischen Erziehung konnte und kann daher erst nachträglich aus alledem und aus den praktischen Erfahrungen abgeleitet werden. Das wird zweifellos geschehen und ist auch schon im Werden, wenngleich eine Zusammenfassung noch fehlt. Wie weit dann diese Theorie gewisse Verwandtschaft mit älteren Theorien zeigt, würde dann im wesentlichen eine Frage geschichtlicher Rückschau sein, also eine Frage zweiten Grades. Dabei dürfte sich erweisen, dass die nationalsozialistische Erziehung—abgesehen von gewissen methodischen Gebieten—mit Hegel wenig, mit Fichte vieles und auch einiges mit Nietzsche gemein hat.

Vielleicht wäre es zweckmässig, bei Ihrer Arbeit folgendermassen vorzugehen:

1. Die weltanschaulichen Grundlagen des Nationalsozialismus müssen klar erfasst werden, 2. daraus sind die grundsätzlichen Folgerungen für die Erziehung zu ziehen, 3. die bisherigen Massnahmen des Nationalsozialismus auf dem Gebiet der Erziehung werden festgestellt und eingeordnet, 4. besondere Einzeluntersuchungen vergleichen die grundsätzlichen Äusserungen und Massnahmen des Nationalsozialismus mit den weltanschaulichen Erziehungstheorien und ihren Trägern aus früheren Zeiten.

Hauptgesichtspunkte bei diesen Untersuchungen werden etwa folgende sein:

1. Die natürlichen Lebensgesetze (Erb- und Rassenlehre) und ihre Anwendung auf die Erziehung
2. Vererbung und Erziehung (vgl. Pfahler, „Warum Erziehung trotz Vererbung," Verlag Teubner, Leipzig, und Siemens, „Die biologischen Grundlagen der Erziehung," Verlag Lehmann, München)
3. Die Erziehung zum wertvollen und tüchtigen Einzelmenschen und zwar unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Ganzheit von Körper, Seele und Geist
4. Körperliche, seelisch-charakterliche, geistige Erziehung
5. Der Einzelne und die Gemeinschaft; Begriff der Gemeinschaft (biologische Gemeinschaften von der Familie bis zu Volk und Rasse; künstliche Gemeinschaften wie Bündnisse, Bekenntnisgruppen, Menschheit)
6. Der Sinn des Lebens für den Einzelnen und das Volk als Grundfrage aller Erziehung.

Wenn Sie das Ganze behandeln wollten, so würden Sie voraussichtlich nur wenig in die Tiefe gehen können. Daher scheint es mir das Beste zu sein, dass Sie sich auf einen Teil dieser Fragen beschränken und sich für spätere Zeiten einen allmählichen Ausbau dieser Untersuchungen vorbehalten.

Jedenfalls freue ich mich sehr, dass Sie durch Ihre Arbeit dem Nationalsozialismus gerecht werden und dadurch ein gegenseitiges Verstehen unserer Völker fördern wollen. So wünsche ich Ihnen für Ihre Arbeit alles Gute. Gern stelle ich auch weiterhin Ihnen meinen Rat zur Verfügung. Vielleicht teilen Sie mir einmal mit, welche Schriften Sie kennen, damit ich Ihnen weitere benennen kann.

Mit deutschem Gruss

Ihr ergebener

Dr. Benze

INTERNATIONALE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ERZIEHUNG

Dr. Phil. Dr. Iur. Theodor Wilhelm, Hochschule für Lehrerbildung, Oldenburg i.O. (Deutschland)

George F. Kneller, Esq., Hamden, Connecticut, U.S.A.

Oldenburg i.O. 21. Dez. 1938.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kneller!

Ich beeile mich, Ihren Brief vom 27. November so zu beantworten, wie es mir im Augenblick möglich ist. Ich bitte Sie, versichert zu sein, dass mich derartige Anfragen nur freuen und mir in keiner Weise lästig sind, denn es geht uns bei der heutigen politischen Spannung, die über der Welt lastet, ja ausschliesslich darum, der Wahrheit zu dienen soweit wir irgend können.

Es ist meine Überzeugung, dass eine Arbeit, wie Sie sie vorhaben, in der Tat viel Gutes wirken kann. Voraussetzung ist meiner Meinung nach aber, dass Ihre Arbeit sich nicht beschränkt auf die üblichen amerikanischen und englischen Veröffentlichungen, die bisher über den Nationalsozialismus und die nationalsozialistische Erziehung erschienen sind. Ich mache allen diesen Bücher—sei es Hartshorne, Stephen H. Roberts oder der „Nazi-Primer" zum Vorwurf, dass sie von Männern geschrieben wurden, die von vornherein mit ganz bestimmter Zielgabe an ihre Arbeit herangingen. Andere Äusserungen—wie etwa verschiedene Aufsätze von Charles A. Beard—begehen die wissenschaftliche Sünde, sich nicht auf primäre (deutsche), sondern auf sekundäre (englische oder amerikanische) Quellen zu stützen. Voraussetzung Ihrer Arbeit also wäre, dass Sie wirklich die nationalsozialistische Literatur selbst zu Grunde legen und auch hier dann nicht die billigen Propagandaschriften der Jahre 1933/34, sondern Bücher von wirklich philosophischem Rang.

Am meisten könnte Ihnen wohl ein Aufsatz von mir selbst dienen, der die Niederschrift einer Rede darstellt, die ich kürzlich in England hielt. Leider ist dieser Aufsatz noch nicht veröffentlicht; er erscheint am 1. März 1939 in der von mir herausgegebenen „Internationalen Zeitschrift für Erziehung" unter dem Titel „Results of Nazi Education—Scholars or Soldiers?" In diesem Aufsatz habe ich versucht, einmal nicht nur die Tatsache unserer Erziehungsreform zu schildern, wie das schon oft getan worden ist, sondern die Philosophie der Nationalsozialistischen Erziehung, und zwar in

englischer Sprache. Wenn Ihnen sehr viel daran gelegen ist, könnte ich Ihnen unter Umständen mein Manuskript für kurze Zeit zur Verfügung stellen. Lieber aber wäre es mir, wenn Sie sich bis März gedulden würden.

Weiter nenne ich Ihnen das grundlegende Werk von Ernst Krieck „Nationalsozialistische Erziehung," ein Buch, das seinerzeit (zuerst 1931) grosses Aufsehen erregt hat, das leider aber an einigen Unklarheiten und an etwas unpräzisen Begriffen leidet. Wichtiger erscheint mir für Ihre Zwecke Alfred Baeumlers „Politik und Erziehung" (Berlin 1937), ein Buch, in dem Sie vor allem der Aufsatz „Die Grenzen der formalen Bildung" angehen wird. Dann nenne ich Ihnen K. F. Sturm, „Deutsche Erziehung im Werden" (Verlag Zickfeld, Osterwieck, 1938); hier wird die nationalsozialistische Erziehungslehre nach rückwarts in Verbindung gesetzt zu Pestalozzi, bezw. in Gegensatz gebracht zu Herbart.

Vielleicht hilft Ihnen auch die Mitteilung, dass Professor Alexander vom Teachers College der Columbia-Universität, New York, soviel mir bekannt ist, an einer englischen Übersetzung des deutschen Werkes „Neuordnung der Höheren Schulen" (1938) arbeitet. Die Einleitung zu diesem deutschen Werk, das eine offizielle Verlautbarung des Reichserziehungsministers darstellt, gehört nach meiner Auffassung zum besten, was über die Philosophie der nationalsozialistischen Erziehung bisher geschrieben wurde.

Schliesslich darf ich Sie noch auf meine eigene Zeitschrift, die „Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung" („International Education Review") aufmerksam machen, die, wie Ihnen wohl bekannt ist, laufend über die deutsche Erziehung berichtet, oft auch in englischer Sprache. Bei uns ist vor etwa 2 Jahren auch ein ausführlicher Aufsatz über „Nazi-Education" aus der Feder von John W. Taylor erschienen.

In der Hoffnung, dass Ihnen mit diesen kurzen Angaben gedient ist, und mit der Versicherung, dass ich jederzeit gern zu weiterer Hilfe bereit bin, zeichne ich

mit dem Ausdruck verbindlicher Empfehlung

[Dr. Wilhelm]

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